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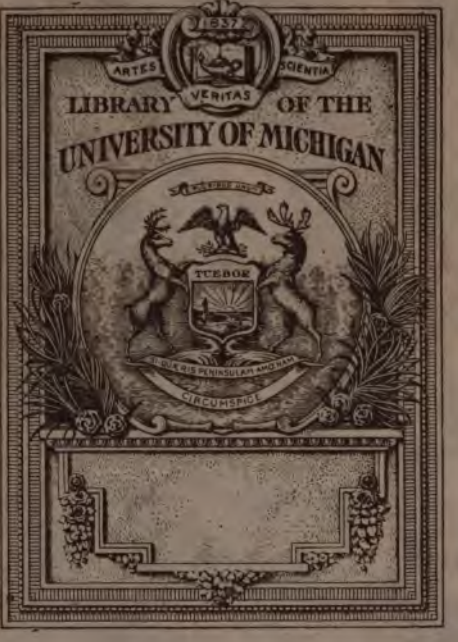
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ABOUT GRANT

BY
JOHN L. SWIFT

BOSTON
LEE AND SHEPARD, PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK
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1880

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AN INTRODUCTORY WORD.

A LIFE of Grant tells us, that, when a boy twelve years of age, he was driving in Kentucky a pair of horses attached to a light wagon in which were two young women. In crossing White Oak Creek, the back-water of the Ohio had so swollen the stream, that the party found itself afloat in the middle of the flood. The women became alarmed, and shouted vigorously for assistance.

The boy, in perfect self-possession, said, "Keep quiet: I'll take you through safe."

He did so; and from that time on he was conspicuous for coolness, judgment, and signal readiness in emergency.

The first battle of significance fought in the great American civil conflict, of sufficient importance to change public opinion here and elsewhere, was won by him when thirty-nine years of age.

This victory, following as it did a prolonged season of almost uninterrupted disaster to our arms, introduced to the world this principal hero of the war of the Rebel-

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lion, one of the very few who have rendered illustrious the nineteenth century.

To show his important share in the momentous events through which the nation has passed since 1861, and to present some of the reasons why millions of the American citizens whose fidelity to the flag never faltered regard him as the true leader in the grave emergency depending on the election of 1880, this book is written about Grant.

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GRANT AND THE TURNING TIDE OF WAR.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"— ABRAHAM LINCOLN: *First Inaugural.*

"I don't know any thing about making speeches; that is not in my line: but we are forming a company in Galena, and mean to do what we can for putting down the Rebellion. If any of you feel like enlisting, I will give you all the information and help I can."— GRANT'S *First Speech.*

ABOUT GRANT.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

"THE fall of Sumter was the resurrection of patriotism." The news came as "if a mighty thunderbolt had been launched from the hand of the Omnipotent" to startle the torpor of the republic. It banished the compromising tone which had prevailed, and evoked a sense of responsibility and manhood beyond the calculations of the most sanguine patriot. Yet, from the hour that an alien flag "flaunted" over this conquered fortress, steadily, with a uniformity that tested the endurance of the American people to the utmost, defeat by superior strategy, and constant mishap, had attended every loyal military effort. The seventy-five thousand men who with alacrity responded to the call of Abraham Lincoln to "repossess the forts, places, and property taken from the Union by the rebels," like snow under a tropi-

cal sun had melted away in the hot blaze of civil struggle, without a sign of final success.

The hasty and unjustifiable proclamation in which France had joined with England in bestowing recognition to armed bands of slave-owners seeking to destroy a friendly government had made again apparent the fact that the shopkeeping instincts of Great Britain shaped her foreign policy. To see a country that had boasted over the liberation of its own slaves indirectly though deliberately throw its moral weight on the side of an attempt to found a nation on the right of one race to own and enslave another, had, in the language of Minister Adams, "made a most unfavorable impression upon right-minded statesmen and philanthropic Christians everywhere." While this abandonment of the principles of religion for the precepts of commerce had shocked those who looked to England for a higher example of justice and duty, it also augmented the severe burdens of the republic, and in some aspects was a more difficult question to adjust than to repair or overcome the damage to our cause in the field.

In July, 1861, occurred the battle of Bull Run, with a result so lamentable to the national side, that no American can turn back without pain to the remembrance of that scene of holiday folly which marked the morning of the fatal day, or recall without a blush that sad sunset which saw the mad, impetuous flight of the lately proud *American* army.

The bitterest moment, however, that Northern hearts ever knew was not when they heard of prisoners taken at Bull Run by the thousands, and of the reprehensible conduct of incompetent officers, or of the promiscuous race for the rear between civilians who left their hampers behind them and the soldiers who threw away their knapsacks, or in the destruction of the first real army that had been sent out with great hope; but when the chief traitor patronizingly implored the rebel masses to pity the North, and "never be haughty to the humble," then the iron entered deep into the loyal soul. Though the army retreated at Bull Run, patriotism did not. Before the end of July, in sight of our beaten army at full run, it was voted through the national representatives to fight on for the cause with more men by hundreds of thousands, and more money by hundreds of millions.

The death of Lyon and the prevalence of disaster in Missouri; dangerous complications in Kentucky; a most disheartening repulse at Ball's Bluff, inflicting a national calamity in the loss of Baker, an eminent statesman and brave soldier; "The Trent" affair, almost provoking foreign interference; repeated ill success at the front; political divisions at the North, beginning a baleful career of disorder; chaos in values; the rise of the speculative spirit; the separation of the people into two parties, — one trusting government with money, the other denying the capacity of the government

to fulfil its obligations; credit trembling in the balance; heavy loans put on the market; gold disappearing; the public pride smarting under the domineering tone of the English Government in its mercenary diplomacy; vacant chairs around loyal hearthstones and firesides; insignia of mourning everywhere in sight; — all this, without an instance of successful leadership or any victory to cheer the tried energy and resolution of the Union element, or to compensate severe loss of life and treasure, was the dismal record of the first nine months of the Rebellion.

The beginning of the year 1862 saw treason elated with its conquests, — the South full of hope, and animated with military renown; while loyalty, with no inspiration of military success, struggled against a ceaseless flood-tide of misfortune.

The battle of Belmont was fought by Grant as brigadier-general of volunteers in November, 1861. At the time the country thought the affair a failure, and Grant was regarded with distrust, although the success of the movement was complete and in accordance with his plan. It protected an operation of our army that the enemy designed to check, and changed the latter's campaign in Missouri from aggressive to defensive; but the main value of this movement was in its development of the character and qualities of the coming chief of our armies. The perfect management of his command, the individual coolness and observance of the situation which make retreat equal to vic-

tory, the gift of laconic expression, — a rare characteristic of the rarest soldiers, — the display of an inflexible will united with a discreet judgment, were the revelations of the contest at Belmont.

A striking feature of the character of Gen. Grant is reserved power. Where circumstances are the least favorable and the most involved, he is then the clearest in purpose and the strongest in resolve. This contingent of internal strength in the midst of external difficulty never has deserted him. At Belmont he was in an exceedingly precarious position. He had fought skilfully, and had forced in the rebels and broken up their camp, but was in no condition for, and had no intention of, holding the ground. The re-enforced enemy massed upon him. "We are surrounded and lost," said one of his alarmed staff. "No," said Grant, "we have whipped them once: we can whip them again. We cut in: we must cut out." At Pittsburg Landing, as his lines were slowly but surely being driven back, every step made scarlet with heroic blood, Grant was asked what arrangements had been made for retreat. "I have not given up the idea yet of whipping them," was the answer. He held on, and whipped them; and these pithy sayings passed into the language of the camp. With regularity that seems at times the consequence of special design, the grave military and civil responsibilities devolved upon him have presented at their commencement the unfailing emergency of disadvantage and uncertainty,

to end, by his foresight and indomitable persistency, both in personal and national triumph. It was when the country had been so strained for months that it seemed almost at the point of exhaustion, when the patience of Europe concerning the blockade had been pushed to the extreme, and the prominent inquiry at home and abroad was, "When is this to end? what evidence is there of conquering such a foe? where are the Northern victories?" that the tide of doubt and disaster was turned in favor of our national forces, never to change its current till the last vestige of insurrection had been swept away.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST GREAT VICTORY.

MANY will remember well the anxiety of those waiting for the news on the gloomy night of that Sunday when the report came of the taking of Fort Donelson. The day had been unusually depressing, even for that era of suspense and longing. Suddenly the operator's face shone as he heard the click of the telegraph. He read the despatch aloud: "Fort Donelson captured with the entire force!" Cheers went up from those who heard this announcement; for the long catalogue of Union defeats had reached its limit. How the tidings flew! People shouted it on the cars and in the streets. Door-bells were rung, and to the question, —

"What is it?"

"Grant has captured Fort Donelson," was the answer.

"Any prisoners?"

"Seventeen thousand six hundred and twenty-three."

"Glorious! That wipes out Bull Run. Any thing else?"

"Seventeen heavy guns, forty-eight field-pieces,

twenty thousand small arms, three thousand horses, flags, and military stores."

"Hurrah for Grant!" was on every loyal tongue. And the next morning the people read in detail that Grant, after taking Fort Henry prior to his great victory at Donelson, had been instructed to be very cautious in his advance; to use the contrabands with pick and shovel in fortifying his position; and to feel his way with the "spade" with precaution. The people read that Grant, not relishing fighting with the spade behind breastworks, and chafing under the delay, annoyance, and restraint of red tape, determined to "move on the enemy's works." They read that Fort Donelson had been made by the Confederacy the "strongest place in that theatre of operation." Every thing that military skill and engineering could do for it had been done. To repel attack, the natural position was formidable, and all the appliances of the science of war had been added. The people read that Grant closed in upon this stronghold on the 12th of February, 1862. They read that on the next day an attack by the Union gunboats had proved a total failure, and a premature assault on the right had been repulsed; that on the 14th, after a counsel of war by the rebel chiefs, a most desperate attempt was made to dislodge the national forces, and force a way out into the open country. So probable was the success of this movement at high noon of the 14th, that Pillow sent the message, "On the honor of a soldier, the

day is ours." Of this almost accomplished adverse demonstration, Grant knew nothing until nine o'clock of the day it took place. By request of Admiral Foote, he had been in consultation with that wounded officer at the gunboats, some distance from his own headquarters. The interview over with Foote, on his return he was informed of the rebel *sortie*, and he immediately gave orders to attack the rebel right. Meeting the troops already engaged, Grant, as the story read, found them in much disorder and badly broken up. Riding over the field of action, he saw the knapsacks of the enemy's dead packed with several days' rations. With that insight into the minutest details which belongs to instinctively military natures, he deciphered the rebel intention. "They are trying to escape. Armies don't come out to fight with three days' provisions. Whichever party makes the attack will win the day, and the rebels will have to move quickly to beat me," said Grant. The command was given to the encouraged troops "to advance along the whole line." Foote was telegraphed to "to steam up, and to make pretence of renewing attack." The ground and guns lost in the morning were recaptured, and the enemy was forced back. And, with tears of joy filling their loyal eyes, the people read of the closing charge, in the late afternoon, that ploughed through the abattis, scaled the heights, and burst upon the whole rebel line with a force that "nothing human could resist," securing a Union victory which the

generalship of Grant and the bravery of his men had wrested from a nearly irrevocable defeat. And as the story concluded with the record of the rebel chieftains passing the night swapping the dignity and honor of their command, — Floyd resigning to Pillow, and Pillow giving up to Buckner, who stood his ground while the outranking generals slid away under the cover of darkness, with a brigade as escort, and two steamboats as means of delivery; and as the ringing words of Grant in answer to the condition of surrender, which have become a proverb with the nation, finished this full chapter of glory, — the people by the millions, who thus read, hailed with joy the man and the movement which after so many weary months had given a victory so overwhelming and important that it became the harbinger of ultimate triumph for the republic. It was a victory of such dimensions as to attract world-wide consideration; and it settled in the American mind the fact, that a new man was on the stage, and a new era had begun. Flags waved from every house; hymns were chanted in every church; and guns boomed from deck and fort in commemoration of the event. Press united with pulpit to swell the chorus of praise. The despatch from Boston to Grant — "That the *furore* of jubilation was never equalled in the memory of living men" — expressed the universal popular sentiment. The lightning that informed Lincoln of the capture of Donelson bore back the next instant to its conqueror a commis-

sion as major-general of volunteers, showing the correctness of Grant's own words addressed to his soldiers: "The men who fought that battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST RE-ACTION.

THIS blow was felt not only with force upon the fortunes of the Confederacy, but had no small share in shaping diplomatic action abroad. The humiliation of the South was reflected in the statement of Forrest, a Southern general: "Grant landed with a petty force of fifteen thousand men in the very centre of a force of nearly forty-five thousand having the interior lines for concentration and command, by railway at that, and was able to take two heavy fortifications in detail, and place *hors de combat* nearly fifteen thousand of the enemy." The effect of this remarkable victory upon the North was incalculable. The bravery of that section had long been demonstrated. The willingness to give life and treasure for the flag had never been in dispute from the start. The growing question was, "Is all this sacrifice of any account? or are we pouring out our life-blood and our treasure in vain?" In a single day a victory worthy of the most brilliant tactician gave an answer that assured our destiny. Europe was compelled to forbear from wholesale depreciation of the Northern campaign, and to study the con-

sequences of the conquest of Donelson. Inspiring the loyal portion with a sense of unbounded cheer; staggering the enemy in his council as well as his camp; furnishing the speech of the common people with new terms of expression that became a vernacular of victory, — this grand triumph brought the captor into such prominence, that men began to ask, "Has the appointed deliverer come?" From the sea to the frontier every loyal household breathed with more freedom as it felt the tide at last had turned, and was now setting resistlessly forward to the supremacy of the nation over its deadly assailants.

With this notable re-action of public sentiment towards the Union cause, the formidable emergency of protracted discouragement was successfully encountered.

GRANT AND THE SEVERED CONFEDERACY.

"We have collected an immense siege-park. All the world is expecting us to begin, and up to this moment the guns are standing idle. It has certainly damaged us with the neutral powers. The effect of the success of Sedan has been lessened quite enormously in consequence." — BISMARCK.

"It was such as Montchenu who made the chief cause of the Revolution. Before it such a man as Bertrand, who is worth an army of Montchenus, could not be a *sous-lieutenant* while *vieux enfans* like him would be generals. God help the nation that is governed by such! In my time most of the generals of whose deeds France is so proud sprung from that very class of plebeians so much despised by him." — NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER IV.

UNDER A CLOUD.

His plans of battle, methods of operation, style of communication with superiors and departments to which he was obliged to report, the personal characteristics all so much applauded now, were matters of serious objection and denunciation at the beginning of Grant's career.

"I am going to attack Fort Donelson to-morrow."

"Do you know how strong it is?"

"Not exactly. But I think I can take it. At all events I can try."

This sounds well as we scan the words; but at the time it was held to be unmilitary, and poor tactics.

"Where shall I find you?"

"Probably at headquarters. If you don't, come to the front wherever you hear the heaviest firing."

We thrill with patriotic response as we read that answer to-day; but, when uttered, it was pronounced claptrap and bravado.

"You are up early, general!"

"Yes: I got up at two o'clock, and have been

working ever since, trying to study out the plans of old Pap Price."

We see in this incident the peculiarities of a watchful soldier; but, before Grant's fame was assured, such conversation was held to be very undignified, coarse, and inexcusable. Rumors of incapacity, suspicions as to unquestioned loyalty, damaging insinuations both as to habits and ambitious designs, were not unfrequent before the battle of Pittsburg Landing. A crushing blow was intended to be made by the Confederacy at this place to annihilate Grant in his unintrenched position, and was commenced by the Confederate generals with every prospect of success.

Adopting the "forty centuries" air with which Napoleon addressed his soldiers at the Pyramids, Beauregard said the night before the encounter at Pittsburg Landing, "Yonder is the camp of the enemy. There we sleep to-morrow night." The secrecy of the Confederate attack had been so well kept, that our army was virtually caught napping. History has it that the first rebel shots surprised many at breakfast, some in partial dress, some with equipments in disorder, but found none expecting an engagement. Grant began to study the nature of the movement of the enemy from the firing, rather than to give way to his evident surprise. Making all preparations to hurry re-enforcements forward, he ordered the ground to be held if possible till succor should come. The position of our army was excellent, but without

other than natural defences. Sherman had the key of the position, and was clinging to it with the grip of death, when Grant came up to consult with him.

"I fear we shall run out of ammunition," said Sherman. "Oh," said Grant, "I have provided for that!" But, though the ammunition was provided for, the first day, with a persistency of ill fortune that became proverbial, was a defeat; and Beauregard with his rebels did sleep in the loyal camp *one night.* The fighting had been dogged in its resistance and deadly in its results on both sides.

Victory seemed so sure for the rebels, that word was sent, "We have this morning attacked the enemy in a strong position in front of Pittsburg, and after a severe battle of ten hours, thanks to Almighty God, gained a complete victory, driving the enemy from every position." With Grant it is always the "home stretch" that tells. As at Donelson, the rebel jubilation was premature. "We must fire the first gun to-morrow morning: the advantage will be with the attacking party," was the order of Grant for the second day's fight at Pittsburg. At dawn the guns began to crack. During the day two hesitating regiments were personally rallied and led into action by Grant. The fighting was fiercely stubborn; the generalship in action masterly. Re-enforcements coming in to settle the issue, the Confederates were driven back, the ground was fully recovered, and the rebel designs entirely frustrated. It was a narrow escape

from what threatened to be an extermination of our army in that locality. Though it did not conclude with the capture of so much of the enemy as to utterly cripple him, yet it altered the whole phase of the campaign in that section, and was a greater victory than was conceded at the moment.[1]

Because unintrenched, Grant was bitterly assailed in military circles. Said Turenne, "When a man has committed no faults in war, he could only have been engaged in it a short time." So far as military science, through its books and precedents taught, the battles of Donelson and Pittsburg, as battles, were at fault in many particulars. That of Donelson was big with risks. To boldly undertake an assault upon a strong natural fortification that was aided by great military preparation, with less troops to attack than there were inside for defence, was in violation of every example and advice in war. The battle was fought because Grant believed the Confederate officers in command were

[1] Nothing in the literature of war could be more ridiculous than Beauregard's letter, sent by flag of truce, asking permission to bury the Confederate dead at this battle: "At the close of the conflict yesterday, my forces being so exhausted by the extraordinary length of time during which they were engaged with yours on that and the previous day, and it being apparent that you had received and were still receiving re-enforcements, *I felt it was my duty to withdraw my troops from the immediate scene of conflict!*" Another specimen of rebel war gasconade is the following from the same source: "Soldiers of Shiloh and Elkton, we are about to meet once more in the shock of battle the invaders of our soil. . . . Let the impending battle decide our fate, and add a more illustrious page to the history of our revolution, — one to which your children will point with noble pride, saying, '*Our fathers were at the battle of Corinth.*'" After this bulletin, his army quietly packed up, and sneaked away without a shot.

incapable, and because he thought that quickness of movement would outweigh every advantage against him. Said Buckner, after the surrender, "Had I commanded, you would not have reached the fort so easily." — "If you had," replied Grant, "I should have waited for re-enforcements; but I knew Pillow would never come out of his works to fight." The judgment of Grant proved correct, and the plan of battle was justified by success. In both actions the main principles guiding Grant were, "Having assumed the offensive, to maintain it at all hazards;" "To take every precaution possible for full support of all under command;" "*Begin the fighting;*" and "*Never to scare.*" However erroneous in other respects, these tactics were true to those laws, and were won under them; but they ended in bringing Grant into temporary retirement and discredit. The scandal-mongers were again at their despicable work. Envy, malice, management, had full sway; and, under pretence of promotion, Grant was for a season in reality tabooed and ignored, till after his superiors found by the evacuation of Corinth that he had at Pittsburg Landing won the entire field in that section. Sitting idly in his tent, instead of being with his command in active service, he wrote to his father, "I will go on and do my duty to the very best of my ability, and do all I can to bring the war to a speedy close. I am not an aspirant for any thing at the close of the war. . . . One thing I am well aware of: I have the confidence of every man in

my command." Some of the "on-to-Richmond" papers of that period, like the independent press of this, under the impression that the true way to beat your worst enemies is to vilify your best friends, hounded Grant incessantly.

Mortified and wounded at his treatment from the papers and from those over him, Grant was forced to demand relief from his equivocal relation to the army; and he said in a letter, "I am not going to lay off my shoulder-straps until the close of the war; but I should like to go to New Mexico, or some other remote place, and have a small command out of reach of the newspapers." Halleck, who had been to the front while Grant was reduced to inaction in his tent, — after his eyes were open to the superior military wisdom of the shelved officer by the extensive manner in which he had been fooled, through the enemy's movements at Corinth, in finding a barren town where he had planned to bag an army, — acknowledged his mistake as to the importance of the battle of Pittsburg Landing. The country, seeing a new and alarming emergency before it in the necessity to counteract the succession of delays and disasters in other points, ordered the re-instatement of Grant on the summoning of Halleck to Washington. He had often expressed his willingness to serve under Sherman with the same readiness as to have Sherman serve under him; but he felt his compulsory, and to him humiliating, retirement deeply.

He also saw with regret the needless postponement of a vigorous campaign, and prolongation of movements in a rebellious region, which a change of command forced upon the country. One of the biographers of Grant remarks, "It is pleasant to record, that always after going to Washington, as if in atonement for his former ungraciousness, Halleck gave to Grant hearty and entire support." The same historian observes, in connection with this unpleasant experience, that "Grant felt keenly the newspaper denunciation of which he had been the victim, but very seldom alluded to it. Once he said to a Cincinnati correspondent, —

"'Your paper has made many false statements about me, and, I presume, will continue to do so. Go on in that way if you like; but it is hard treatment for a man trying to do his duty in the field. I am willing to be judged by my acts, but not to have them misrepresented or falsified.'"

It is possible to imagine how these insults and suspicions rankled in the brave soul that endured them all, and never in the height of his power remembered these acts against their perpetrators; but it can never be known how much it cost this country to fight on the most approved principles of engineering, or to pursue the supercilious methods of the martinets who sometimes hold the destinies of nations.

CHAPTER V.

A BLOW THAT TOLD.

In March, 1863, three officers stood together one midnight, watching strange incidents about Port Hudson. They made part of the advance which was to co-operate with Farragut in his attempt to pass fortifications that Jefferson Davis shortly before, after personal examination, had pronounced "impregnable." The formidable bluffs, commanding the river for miles in either direction, were amply supplied with the best armament for defence. Against the fearful fire of these powerful batteries, Farragut was at that moment "running the gauntlet." The land forces were in the rear of Port Hudson, there to divert the enemy, and draw a portion of the garrison from operating against the fleet. The precise object of the expedition no one of the three knew, although hearsay gave it that it was in connection with Grant's movements above. One of the officers in this group had served with Grant in Oregon, and the conversation naturally turned upon him.

It was an extraordinary scene: the air roared with the rush of bombs; the earth trembled under the fierce, incessant cannonade; the heav-

ens were filled with curves of light from busy shells; when an explosion shook the ground for miles, and made the air alive with conflagration.

One of the officers exclaimed, "If the Lord will let me live just long enough to find what all this is, and what it is about, I shall die happy."

Morning brought word that Farragut, after a most terrible damage to his fleet, including the destruction of the large steamer "Mississippi" by the firing of her magazine, and with much loss of life, had passed the guns of the enemy, and was on his way up the river to communicate with Grant. It was the "beginning of the end;" and what Grant's colleague said, in giving an estimate of him, proved true: "I don't know what he is up to; but he always *pulls through*, and he will come out right." Whoever has seen that area of rank, monotonous desolation along the borders of the Lower Mississippi, traversed by sluggish gullies, overspread with trackless and treacherous lowlands, the paradise of the centipede, alligator, and mosquito, and the terror of living men, will understand why Grant made seven abortive attempts upon Vicksburg on the upper side.

A writer says, "The swamps, forests, jungles, bayous, and rivers of this remarkable region are the most perfect defence that could be devised for important points situated on the highlands which lie beyond them. To the army operating along the main river they proved to be a perfect barrier; for, although they were frequently penetrated, it

was always with such great labor and loss of time, that the rebels, moving by rail or along the better roads of the highlands, were enabled to meet our forces in superior strength, or to block their way by impassable fortifications."

A friend, calling one evening, found Grant alone in his office, — the ladies' cabin of "The Magnolia." He said, —

"*The problem is a difficult one, but I shall certainly solve it: Vicksburg can be taken. I shall give my days and nights to it, and shall surely take it.*"

Richardson says of the plan to pass the batteries, "It was no sudden inspiration. For months the general had thought of it as a last resort. When he and the staff, three months earlier, first visited the Williams Cut-off, Rawlins, after contemplating the tiny rill which trickled through it, exclaimed, 'What's the use of a canal, unless it can be dug at least fifty feet deeper? This ditch will never wash out large enough in all the ages to admit our steamboats.' Two days later, at headquarters, when several generals and engineers were considering plans, the staff-officer again remarked, 'Wilson and I have a project of our own for taking Vicksburg.' — 'What is it?' asked Sherman. 'Why, not to dig a ditch, but to use the great one already dug by Nature, — the Mississippi River; protect our transports with cotton-bales, run them by the batteries at night, and march the men down the Louisiana shore, ready to be ferried across.'"

ably against the judgment of a vast majority of military men; certainly in spite of the fears and remonstrance of those who fought our battles in the war-office at the Capitol. The suspense of the nation for the next few days was intense. Millions of those now living were then unborn; and many who passed through this period of anxiety and waiting have forgotten the tension of expectation which made these harrowing days eventful with mingled hope and fear. Grant and his army had disappeared from public view. Would it be ruined, or come forth regnant with glory, was the question? It was a crisis on which hung the fate of the republic: and when the intelligence came, that Johnston had been outmarched by the celerity of Grant, and that Jackson had been occupied and destroyed as a military depot for the enemy; and that the most important railway communications with Pemberton were utterly ruined, and conjunction with the fleet above Vicksburg secured, and Pemberton, by one of the most successful series of combinations and strategy known in war, hemmed in behind his works; and when the account came of the battle of Champion Hills, named by its awful sacrifice of brave men "the Hill of Death," — the great, beating, loyal heart of the country was filled with the commingled emotions of astonishment, admiration, and love for the soldier who seemed capable of every thing but the miraculous.

During the battle of Champion Hills, Grant

received from the bureau at Washington an order to make junction with the forces in the Department of the Gulf before moving on Vicksburg. It was too late. The work had been done; and Pemberton's beaten army was pouring back into its defences, only to be helplessly trapped and corralled. "Until this moment I have never thought that your expedition would be a success. I never could see the end clearly; but this *is* a campaign," said the ablest officer next to Grant in the army. Vicksburg was encircled from the river above to the river below; and so accurate had been Grant's calculations, that the investment was consummated in exact accordance with his arrangements. Froude describes Julius Cæsar returning from a campaign in "the light of twenty victories." If history can be depended upon, "Grant's operations since leaving New Carthage had rarely been equalled by the most illustrious captains of history."

"In twenty days he had marched two hundred miles, and fought five battles; taking ninety guns, capturing six thousand of the enemy, and killing and wounding many more. He had destroyed Pemberton's communication, stopped him from escaping, and finally driven him to the wall. And his total loss in killed, wounded, and missing, footed up only four thousand."

And now Grant was compelled to resort to what had been the main weapon of some of the leading generals of the army, — the spade. With it he made a line of circumvallation to protect his re-

and with it he began to mine the rebel works that two assaults had failed to carry. But famine began to smite the doomed city, and the direct horrors of war were felt in the besieged enclosure. Hunger, disease, poison by malaria, death, revelled in that forlorn domain. The days dragged on, — dismay within; slow and tireless digging without.

"When do you expect to take Vicksburg?" tauntingly asked a female rebel.

"I can't tell exactly," said Grant; "but I shall stay till I do, if it takes thirty years."

An intercepted letter contained these words: —

"We put our trust in the Lord. . . . We expect Joe Johnston to come to our relief."

On reading this, Grant gave orders to march a portion of his army, saying to the leader, "They seem to put a good deal of trust in the Lord and Joe Johnston; but you must whip Johnston fifteen miles from here."

On the 4th of July, 1863, the "old flag" floated over Vicksburg. Rhetoric has no capacity of eloquence equal to the mere statement that the "Stars and stripes" waved over the Gibraltar of the Confederacy; and words can add nothing to the condensed record of the historian: —

"In the capitulation Grant received fifteen generals, thirty-one thousand six hundred soldiers, and one hundred and seventy-two cannon, — the greatest capture of men and armament ever made at one time since the invention of gunpowder, if not since the creation. Adding prisoners pre-

viously taken, his captures since the 1st of May were swelled to forty-two thousand and fifty-nine men."

Thirty millions of loyal people thanked God in earnest prayer that His almighty wisdom had given us such a victory, and a military leader great enough to surmount every peril with which he had grappled.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT VICKSBURG SETTLED.

GRANT once wrote to his father, "The government asks a good deal of me, but not more than I feel fully able to perform." Vicksburg settled that the country could put no load upon Grant that he could not lift. As Donelson settled it beyond controversy that the early boast of martial superiority on the part of the South was "as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal," so Vicksburg settled several weighty matters that only successful battle could determine. It hopelessly divided the area of rebellion. The "lordly Mississippi" was in loyal control, never again to be wrested from us. The granary of the rebel army, the source from which its sustenance was mainly drawn, was sealed against it. With the Atlantic coast blockaded, and the rich pastures and storehouses of the trans-Mississippi closed, the Confederacy itself was in a state of siege; and, without foreign intervention, its downfall was but a question of time. The Confederacy was severed, never to be rejoined. Vicksburg vindicated the policy of emancipation, and added the mighty power of moral greatness to the war.

This victory had justified the absorption into loyal ranks of a race that by the magic of enfranchisement was rising in the scale of human dignity. It welcomed from the fields of the South the black hands that, unpaid, tilled the soil, owned as they were by human masters, and placed within those swarthy hands muskets that were to establish their fitness for freedom and their title to manhood. By our thus proclaiming liberty universal, and identifying the cause of loyalty with the cause of religion and humanity, the malicious spirit of our enemies and the vacillating spirit of our questionable friends in England were alike rebuked, and our cause was strengthened throughout the world.[1]

The lofty spirit of devotion to just principles of government which guided the pen of Milton, and animated the tongue of Hampden, in the days of

"[1] Adjutant-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas now came from Washington to organize negro regiments. Grant had already paved the way for this in obedience to the President's wish that commanders should help remove the prejudices of our white troops against them. He had issued an order adding three hundred contrabands to the pioneer corps of each division.

. . . . . .

"Grant did nothing in a half-hearted way, but entered zealously into the movement, and reported to Halleck, —

"'At least three of my corps commanders take hold of the new policy of arming the negroes, and using them against the enemy, with a will. They at least are so much of soldiers as to feel themselves under obligations to carry out a policy which they would not inaugurate in the same good faith and with the same zeal as if it were of their own choosing. You may rely on my carrying out any policy ordered by proper authority to the best of my ability.'"

This extract shows what an important influence on this question came out of the necessities of Vicksburg.

the Commonwealth; the sublime sentiment which found echo in all true English hearts, that the air of England was too pure for any slave to breathe, — aroused Englishmen in 1863 to resist the efforts of British toryism and British selfishness to interfere for Southern benefit. The fall of Vicksburg insured the final extinction of the slave-owners' empire, and linked together the triumph of the American flag and the full freedom of the American slave. A sympathetic spirit was awakened in the mother-country, and smote down with righteous indignation all efforts to break the embargo on Southern ports. It was no trifling contribution to the national cause that Grant at Vicksburg settled forever the likelihood of foreign intermeddling with the blockade. We cannot wonder, then, that "Grant became henceforth the central figure in our military history," or that "the country hailed him with unfeigned delight and sincerity as the only general who was always successful."

Lincoln wrote him, "When you turned northward, east of Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment that you were right, and I was wrong."

Amid all the congratulations and honors that crowded upon him as hero of Vicksburg, Grant maintained a quiet, simple, unostentatious dignity. Declining a public ovation tendered him, he concluded his letter with the patriotic sentiment, "The stability of this government and the unity of this nation depend solely on the cordial support and earnest loyalty of the people."

Of all men, living or dead, who have ever contributed by their acts to uphold the unity and stability now represented by our invincible flag, none ever did more than Grant by the capture of Vicksburg. Placing on sure ground the non-intervention of Europe, vindicating the hallowed policy of human freedom, raising up the bond race, unfettering the Father of Waters, and giving it back to interstate commerce, it made certain to the calculation of the world that the national flag would yet wave for a country stronger than when the eagles of Rome soared from the "Pillars of Hercules to the walls of Antoninus."

GRANT AND THE SAVING OF THE BORDER.

"The principle by which my conduct has been actuated through life would not suffer me in any great emergency to withhold any services I could render required by my country, especially in a case where its dearest rights are assailed by lawless ambition and intoxicated power." — WASHINGTON'S *Acceptance of the Commission of Lieutenant-General.*

"I accept the commission with gratitude for the high honor conferred with the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many battle-fields for our common country. It will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving upon me; and I know, if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and above all to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men." — GRANT'S *Speech on receiving Commission as Lieutenant-General.*

CHAPTER VII.

CLOSING THE GAPS.

"I MUCH fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withdrawing confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness! Beware of rashness! but, with energy and sleepless vigilance, go forward, and give us victories.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

This letter from Abraham Lincoln was written to a distinguished general placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac. No such caution was needed in Grant's case. He had little talk with regard to his own or another's military operations.

"What shall I say to our people, when I return home, about the presidency?" asked one of those frisky politicians who consider their utterances as very important.

"Say nothing. I want nothing whatever said," was the reply of Grant; and the same reticence marked him in all affairs. A commission as major-general in the regular army, personal letters

of thanks from the chief magistrate and the principal military and civil dignitaries, congressional and State honors, public eulogiums, presentations of swords from enthusiastic admirers, indicated that Grant now, as Washington before him, stood first in the hearts of his countrymen. The defeat of our army at Chickamauga — at times threatening to repeat the holocaust at Stone River — had so alarmed government, that Grant was summoned to grapple with a new emergency. The gaps through which invading bands of guerillas could break and overrun the adjacent loyal districts, and the precarious tenure by which some of the most important military positions in the border States were held, gave rise to much apprehension in their immediate localities, and general dissatisfaction everywhere. To close these dangerous gaps, and dislodge the enemy from the border line, was the exigency now before Grant. The consolidation of all forces east of the Mississippi and west of the Alleghanies placed two hundred thousand men at his disposal. His first business was to secure Chattanooga and relieve Burnside, now in an exceedingly embarrassing situation in Knoxville. At Chattanooga was an ill-supplied army, crowded within a small space, with Burnside two hundred miles away in one direction, and Sherman far distant in an opposite direction. Placing Thomas in the position of the commander lately so disastrously defeated, Grant's orders were, —

"Hold Chattanooga at all hazards."

"I will, or starve," was the answer.

Grant arrived at Chattanooga in October, 1863. Missionary Ridge, three miles away, covered the place. The rebels outnumbered Grant, and were in the full flush of a late victory. Hills in front, a river at their back, rescue or escape alike improbable, — such was the deplorable state in which Grant found his cooped-up army at Chattanooga. His forces under Hooker, as usual in advance, had seized the most commanding situation, which held fast the railroad communicating with the supplies. This sharp, quick action put Bragg on the defensive, and gave Grant an opportunity for aggressive movement. The former had sent Longstreet to attack Burnside. "Lose most of your army before retreating: hold the line from Knoxville to Clinton seven days, and the Tennessee Valley can be saved," was the message sent to Burnside. Then Grant concluded to save Knoxville by fighting Bragg. The only defence Grant believed in was attack. There were few darker days in the history of our struggle than these before Chattanooga. Grant, however, had faith that Burnside would hold on, and that Sherman would make connection in time. In both opinions he was correct. The gallant fighting and the glorious victories at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge are too familiar to need description here. The battle of Chattanooga is regarded as a most remarkable military contest. Such was the strength of the enemy's position, that Grant said, "A line of skirmishers

properly handled should have held it." The field of operation was an amphitheatre, and in all probability "no battle was ever fought more completely under the eye of the commander." As one historian says, "Hooker drew attention to the right. Sherman compelled the enemy to mass just as had been designed, and Thomas was made to attack the centre at the critical moment; and more than the results hoped for were accomplished. Armies were moved to fight this battle from the Mississippi and the Potomac, and came upon time; mountains were climbed; rivers bridged and crossed under fire; ridges scaled, though held by hostile armies; and the enemy himself took his part in the plan exactly as had been foreseen, as if he had been under the orders of Grant." It sent Bragg flying in retreat, and was the last heard of him. It closed every avenue then open to invasion, shut up the "last gap," and delivered the border from danger by raising the siege of Knoxville, and, relieving the hard-pressed forces of Burnside, drove the last hostile flag in that vast section forever beyond the sight of loyalty. Recognizing that he had gone on in an unbroken march of triumph from the first great national victory at Donelson; had liberated the great inland highway of waters and all its important tributaries; and had annihilated three separate rebel armies, — the nation demanded that Grant should be raised to the chief command with a military title never given by the republic but to one, "and that one,

Washington." Grant was esteemed by his grateful countrymen the only soldier worthy to bear for the second time the honors of Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the United States.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRE IN THE REAR.

It was said by an influential Northern Democratic paper, "If troops shall be raised in the North to march against the people of the South, *a fire in the rear* will be opened on such troops, which will either stop their march altogether or wonderfully accelerate it." Later this treasonable "fire in the rear" came. The rebellion would never have touched the point of armed resistance, but for the expectation of sufficient Democratic support to forbid actual war. The doctrine of State rights, the corner-stone of American Democracy, led legitimately to the principle of ultimate supremacy in local government. Secession was the logical result of the theory that final authority was with the State. If the Democratic school was constitutionally correct in holding that the dissolution of government was in the hands of a section rather than of the nation, — if a part could break up the whole, — then every shot fired by the South was right, and every shot sent back by the North was wrong. The sole difference between the Northern and the Southern Democrat was, the one had the courage to fight for his convictions; the other

had not. The South's glaring mistake was in trusting the pledges, and relying on the co-operation, of Northern Democracy. When it came to the pinch, the Northern end gave out. The action of the South was honorable and pure in comparison with the craven behavior of its allies in the North. The peace men in the loyal States were poltroons as well as traitors. The South risked lives and property for an idea. Peace men in the North, sympathizing with that idea, without care or thought for the country in its struggle for existence, were simply white-livered re-actionists: keeping out of bodily harm, they were content to smirk with joy when the national flag trailed in the dust. The course of the government in emancipating and in arming blacks gave the peace Democrat opportunity to style the contest "a nigger war." The negro of that day, as is the Chinaman of this, was the special object of hatred by the naturalized alien race which makes so large a part of the Democracy of the North. To such prominence had the peace party risen in 1863, that it became the main auxiliary of the rebellion. Vanquished at the front by veteran, loyal legions, disloyalty saw that its drooping fortunes must be revived in the treason which worked to divide politically the North. By secret orders parading nightly as "Sons of Liberty" and "Knights of the Golden Circle;" by boldly forming and arming military bands wherever Democratic sentiment was in the ascendant; by mobocratic resist-

ance to the laws in Democratic strongholds; by predatory bands of desperadoes threatening violence in the borders; by avowed declarations of opposition to conscription; by base appeals to passion from an Ex-President of the United States, who designated the loyal conflict as the "mailed hand of military usurpation in the North striking down the liberties of the people;" by these acts of treachery, together with peace talk in the highways and popular assemblies, the "fire in the rear" rekindled the flickering embers of treason in the South by the blaze of such fuel as burning orphan asylums. The despair of the retreating rebel was turned to joy by shrieks of helpless black children pursued by the peace Democrat in riotous demonstration against the loyal draft. The peace conspiracy was wide-spread and elaborately planned.[1]

On the Democratic standards of the North the bewildered gaze of treason was now fastened. As the banners of the foe went down before the tramp of our armies, *his* cause rose wherever

[1] "The first blow — the signal for uprising — was to be struck at Chicago during the sittings of the Democratic Convention, when eight thousand Confederate prisoners, confined in Camp Douglas, near that city, were to be liberated and armed by the rebel refugees from Canada there assembled, and five thousand sympathizers with the conspirators, and members of the treasonable league, resident in Chicago. Then the Confederate prisoners at Indianapolis were to be released and armed, and the hosts of the Knights of the Golden Circle were to gather at appointed rendezvous to the number of full one hundred thousand men. This force, springing out of the earth as it were, in the rear of Grant and Sherman, would, it was believed, compel the raising of the siege of Richmond and Atlanta, and secure peace on the basis of the independence of the 'Confederate States.'"

a Democratic caucus or convention gathered. Guided by the light of history, it is safe to say, that, in all that makes man respect his fellow-man, the war rebel of the South stands, in the estimation of the world, far in advance of the peace Democrat of the North.

CHAPTER IX.

UNION BALLOTS AND UNION BULLETS.

GRANT had said, in concluding one of the most comprehensive military reports ever written, that his object was "to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission, with the loyal section of our common country, to the Constitution and laws of the land." That he regarded it as essential that public opinion should second the *hammering* process is proved by the following letter: —

"I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter-revolution; they hope the election of the peace candidate; in fact, like Micawber, they hope for 'something to turn up.' *Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war,* with thousands of Northern men joining the South, because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have peace on any terms, the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed. They would demand indemnity for losses sustained, *and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South.* They

would demand pay, or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

(Signed)

"U. S. GRANT."

As lieutenant-general, Grant had not only to face the schemes of the peace Democracy straining to embitter public sentiment and embarrass the North, but the Army of the Potomac exhibited something of a divided attachment, and looked with distrust, if not discontent, upon its new commander. That noble army had in it the best fighting qualities; for it had been pitted against the ablest general the South had put in the field. Under various chiefs it had dashed against Lee, but only, as the waves dash against a rock, to roll back, as it were, exhausted with vain effort. These battles had made the soil of Virginia a vast burial-ground of heroes; but no victory had yet crowned our arms on that bloody arena. Antietam had forced the invader from Maryland, and Gettysburg had hurled the great leader of treason back to his lair in distress and disappointment, without decisive results. Still the Army of the Potomac blazoned with deeds of valor; and its scarred veterans loved, with no common affection, their old commanders. The familiar names were dear to them, and it was not with altogether satisfied hearts they saw the Western hero rise above their favorite generals. Grant knew and felt the difficulties and discomfort of the situation. He knew also that the rebellion would never be

tors at the South were thus hailing the treasonable glimmer made by their brethren at the North, the President had, by proclamation, ordered salutes of one hundred guns at all military and naval arsenals, and advised the people to give common thanks at their respective places of public worship the ensuing sabbath to commemorate the victories of Farragut at Mobile, and the victory of Sherman at Atlanta. A few weeks after these glorious tributes to the national cause were rendered, the great body of the American people went to the polls, and so cast their suffrages,[1] that, by overwhelming majorities, Union ballots upheld the flag for which thousands had fallen, and around which a million of armed men now stood ready

[1] The result of the presidential election gave great joy to all the true friends of the Union at home and abroad. That election was waited for with the greatest anxiety by millions of men. A thousand hopes and fears were excited. Vast interests hung upon the verdict; and for a while in our country every thing connected with trade and manufactures seemed to be stupefied by suspense. Gold, the delicate barometer of commercial thought, fluttered amazingly as the hour of decision drew nigh. At length the result was announced.

Principle had triumphed over expediency. The nation had decided by its calmly expressed voice, after years of distressing war, and with the burden upon its shoulders of a public debt amounting to two thousand million dollars, to fight on, and put down the rebellion at any cost. A load was lifted from the great loyal heart of the republic. Congratulations came over the sea like sweet perfumes; and out of the mouths of the dusky toilers on the plantations of the South went up simple, fervid songs of praise to God for this seal of their deliverance. For the election had surely proclaimed "liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

By it the hopes of the conspirators were blasted. They well knew the power that slumbered behind that vote, and which would now be awakened in majestic energy.

to give their lives. The guns of the soldier and the votes of the citizen told against the common enemies of the nation, — the Confederate army and the Democratic party.

GRANT AND THE "LOST CAUSE."

"It is for us, the living, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." — LINCOLN *at Gettysburg.*

"Your enemy continues a struggle in which our final triumph must be inevitable. Unduly elated with their recent successes, they imagine that temporary reversion can quell your spirits or shake your determination; and they are now gathering heavy masses for a general invasion, in the vain hope that by desperate efforts success may at length be reached. You know too well, my countrymen, what they mean by success. Their malignant rage aims at nothing less than the extermination of yourselves, your wives, and your children. They seek to destroy what they cannot plunder. They propose as spoils of victory that your homes shall be partitioned among wretches whose atrocious cruelty has stamped infamy upon their government." — JEFFERSON DAVIS: *Address read to Lee's Soldiers after Gettysburg and Vicksburg.*

CHAPTER X.

THE VANQUISHED CHIEF.

"WHEN Sherman penetrated to the Atlantic coast, and accomplished his wonderful march, Grant, who had conceived the idea of that march, and taken all of its responsibility, was still sitting quietly in front of Petersburg; and the country rang with applause for the brilliant lieutenant, affording no share of this to the chief who had sent the lieutenant on his errand, and, by his other movements a thousand miles away, had rendered the success of the lieutenant possible. It was even purposed in Congress to place Sherman in the rank which Grant enjoyed. Sherman wrote on the subject at once to Grant, saying that the proposition was without his knowledge, and begging Grant to use his influence against it. This, of course, Grant refused to do, and replied to Sherman, 'If you are put above me, I shall always obey you, just as you always have me.' The history of the world may be searched in vain to find a parallel of magnanimity, friendship, and patriotism." — *Campaign Life.*

This transfer of confidence on the part of the people was, if it existed, but a momentary impulse. Grant, during his seeming inactivity, had been arranging for the final blow. Thomas, Sherman, Sheridan, had been given special work bearing on one result, — the fall of Richmond and capitulation of Lee. Every means of escape, all communica-

tion with the rest of the Confederacy, was cut off and destroyed: our armies were drawn together, making a circle of steel around the beleaguered capital and the harassed chief. So carefully and completely had Grant mapped out his last campaign, that, after a long season of toil over his charts, diagrams, and plans, while at private quarters in New York, it is said that he gave a pass dated months ahead to an intimate friend, one of the stanchest loyalists in the nation, granting admission to his headquarters in the field; telling him, if he reported at the time mentioned, he would see the fall of Richmond. The city was evacuated at the exact date of this most extraordinary pass.

On the 25th of March, 1865, Lee made an assault on Grant's lines. One of the general officers far to the front was visited by Grant with the request to be put as near as possible to the enemy. Cautiously he crawled very close to the rebel skirmish-line. After lying on the ground and listening for some time with great attention, he withdrew, saying, "The heart is all out of them. Their fire is slack and scattered. It is time to end it." One history says of that end, —

"On the 1st of April Sheridan attacked Lee's right at Five Forks, assaulted and carried the fortified position of the enemy, capturing all his artillery and between five thousand and six thousand prisoners. The defeat was decisive. The rebels fled in every direction; and the bulk of the force that had been in front of Sheridan never was able again to rejoin Lee.

"News of the victory reached Grant at nine o'clock in the evening. He at once determined that the hour had come for the final assault. Without consulting any one, he wrote a despatch to Meade, ordering an attack at midnight all along the lines in front of Petersburg, which were at least ten miles long. . . . That night the enemy evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, flying south-west towards Danville. So the goal that our armies had been four years seeking to attain was won. Grant did not wait a moment, but, without entering Richmond in person, pushed on in pursuit at daylight on the 3d, leaving to a subordinate the glory of seizing the capital of Virginia. The energy with which he folfollowed the unhappy Lee was terrific. He disposed his columns on two roads, and marched with marvellous speed. Sheridan, Ord, Meade, vied with each other in their efforts to overtake and annihilate the last fighting force of the rebellion; and the men, inspired with their recent and magnificent triumphs, murmured at no labors or dangers. Meanwhile mindful, even at this intense crisis, of all other and co-operative emergencies, Grant, as he was pursuing Lee, sent orders to Sherman to push at once against Johnston, so that the war might be finished at once. 'Rebel armies,' he reminded him, 'are now the only strategic points to strike at.'"

It may be doubted if the loyal American lives who does not appreciate the sterling moral qualities, the intellectual powers, and surprising military genius which elevated Lee above any other Southern officer; but, in proportion as they admire the military chief of the rebellion, they detest its civil head. The infamous charge of Jefferson Davis that the object of the loyal armies aimed "at nothing less than the extermination of yourselves, your wives, and your children," found its

most fitting rebuke in the following account and terms of surrender: —

"All arms, artillery, and public property were to be turned over to officers appointed by Grant. These were the stipulations as Lee consented to them; but, after he had signified his acceptance, Grant inserted the clause that the side-arms and private horses and baggage of the officers might be retained. Lee seemed much gratified at this magnanimity, which saved him and his officers the peculiar humiliation of a formal surrender of their weapons. He asked, how about the horses of the cavalry-men, which, in the rebel army, were the property of the private soldier. Grant replied that these were included in the surrender. Lee looked at the paper again, and acquiesced in Grant's interpretation. The latter then said, 'I will not change the terms of the surrender, General Lee; *but I will instruct my officers who receive the paroles to allow the men to retain their horses, and take them home to work their little farms.*'" — RICHARDSON.

Thus the manhood and generosity of Grant answered the lying imputations of Davis.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VANISHED CAPITAL.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN went, by invitation of Gen. Grant, to witness the "lost cause" in the throes of death.

In contesting Illinois with Douglas in 1858, Lincoln had asserted as his belief that this government could not "endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect," said he, "the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will be all the one thing or all the other." He was at the camp of Grant to behold, if not the complete fulfilment of this prophecy, at least a mighty stride towards this desirable, though yet unaccomplished, end. Almost four years previous Stephens of Georgia, in addressing the citizens of Richmond, who were about to range Virginia with the Southern Confederacy, said, "What had you, the friends of liberty, to hope for while under Lincoln? Nothing. Beginning in usurpation, where will he end? He will quit Washington as ignominiously as he entered it, and God's will will have been accomplished." This man, whose large, kind heart, perfect hon-

esty, and tireless consecration of effort to his country had won from his loyal compatriots a love and trust bestowed on but few men who have ever lived; the man, whose legal choice as President had given umbrage to the conspirators of the South; whose name had been held up in scorn as a brutal tyrant, and covered with derision as an ignorant despot; whom children had been taught to hate and brand with the vilest epithets, and upon whose head the loudest curses and foulest abuse had been heaped by a misguided people, — this great, loving, simple-hearted man, because God's will had been accomplished, had "quit Washington" to soon visit the vanishing capital of a baseless confederacy. The event is so admirably described by Holland in his "Life of Lincoln," that place here is given to it, to impress on a new generation a most pathetic and striking incident in history: —

"He went up in a man-of-war on the afternoon of Monday, landed at Rochetts, below the city, and, with his boy 'Tad,' rode up the remaining mile in a boat. He entered the city in no triumphal car. No brilliant cavalcade accompanied him; but on foot, with no guard except the sailors who had rowed him up the James, he entered, and passed through the streets of the fallen capital. But his presence soon became known to the grateful blacks, who pressed upon him with their thankful ejaculations and tearful blessings on every side. Better and more expressive were the hats and handkerchiefs tossed in the air by these happy and humble people, than flags and streamers floating from masts and housetops. 'Glory to God! glory! glory!'

shouted the black multitude of liberated slaves. 'I thank you, dear Jesus, that I behold President Linkum!' exclaimed a woman standing in her humble doorway, weeping in the fulness of her joy. Another, wild with delight, could do nothing but jump, and strike her hands, and shout with wild reiteration, 'Bless de Lord! bless de Lord! bless de Lord!' At last the streets became choked with the multitude, and soldiers were called to clear the way. A writer in 'The Atlantic Monthly,' to whom the author is indebted for the most of these particulars, says that one old negro exclaimed, 'May de good Lord bless you, President Linkum!' while he removed his hat, and the tears of joy rolled down his cheeks. 'The President,' the account proceeds, 'removed his own hat, and bowed in silence; but it was a bow which upset the forms, laws, customs, and ceremonies of centuries. It was a death-shock to chivalry, and a mortal wound to caste.'"

CHAPTER XII.

BREAKING RANKS.

NEITHER the suppression of a gigantic rebellion, nor the construction, during the term of civil war, of a gigantic continental railway, — stretching over a thousand miles of desert, and traversing the steeps of huge mountains, — did so much to astonish the civilized world, or silence the evil predictions of foreigners sceptical and inimical to our form of government, as the disarmament of our soldiers. It was incomprehensible how a vast armed force, for years occupying hostile territory and exposed to all the reckless habits inseparable from war, could be suddenly discharged from military service, and return to peaceful life without causing confusion and collision to shock the social order and endanger civil relations. A million of soldiers were mustered out in a few months and went back to their homes, and took up again their avocations, without causing a ripple upon the surface of society, with no other sign of disorder than the wild welcome that everywhere greeted the faded and tattered colors of the loyal regiments on their homeward march.

A multitude of soldiers became lost in a larger

multitude of citizens, — their bronzed faces soon bleaching under the rays of peace; their scars and wounds alone remaining to tell of their share in the struggle for the nation's life. The stained and rent flags of the loyal army are preserved in the Capitols of every loyal State; and year by year the survivors of that great martial comradeship carry flowers to the graves of the lamented dead. Occasionally living members of the "Grand Army of the Republic" are seen in public procession, adding by their presence dignity to public celebrations; and that is all. No special power or influence inures to these saviors of the republic, save the universal respect due their valor and sacrifice.

No clamor for confiscation or reprisal was ever raised. No dollar of treasure was ever demanded by these victors as revenge or satisfaction for their losses and burdens here. Magnanimity, if ever shown by conquerors, has been shown by these men, who voluntarily retired from, as they voluntarily entered into, the service of their imperilled country. It was a magnanimity so generous, that it included within the wide circle of equal citizenship the mass of our foes, and held forth the fullest amnesty to every principal offender that sought its boon.

The spirit of conciliation and fraternity which incited the motive of the Union soldier when he broke ranks and returned to civil life was inspired by the action of Grant at Appomattox. In the

farewell address of the great Union leader to the disbanding army, the victory of peace and order was foreshadowed.

To that triumphant army at the moment of its dissolution, he said, —

"In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and firesides, and volunteered in its defence. Victory has crowned your valor, and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and, with the gratitude of your countrymen and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens.

"To achieve the glorious triumph, and secure to yourselves, your fellow-countrymen, and posterity, the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of your gallant countrymen have fallen, and sealed their priceless legacy with their lives. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families." — U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

GRANT IN CIVIL EMERGENCY.

"Thither let us tend
From off the tossing of these fiery waves:
There rest, if any rest can harbor there;
And, re-assembling our afflicted Powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our Enemy; our own loss how repair;
How overcome this dire calamity;
What re-enforcement we may gain from hope;
If not, what resolution from despair."

Paradise Lost.

CHAPTER XIII.

FIRST ATTEMPT TO "CLASP."

WE have quoted what Milton makes the instigator of the first recorded rebellion utter, and we shall see how it applies to our own history.

Grant, in 1865, after visiting the South, made a report to the authorities stating the pleasure it gave him to learn from the leading men whom he met, "that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but now that the smoke of battle had cleared away, and time had been given for reflection, that this decision had been a fortunate one for the whole country; they receiving like benefit from it with those who opposed them in field and council."

The spirit of the South just after the surrender of Lee was sensible and submissive. When the problem of re-adjustment was under solution, the "original sin" of the section broke out again. The Democratic party took the ground that the Southern States were "in the Union, and entitled to every right and privilege belonging to every other State." Aside from the law of self-preservation, which in war is the sole controlling law

and overrides written compacts, the Democratic argument was unanswerable. But to accept the Democratic view would lead to the glaring inconsistency, — that the South, after it had stripped Northern households of loved inmates, and had forced on the Northern people enormous burdens, would be more powerful by increased numbers in the councils of the nation and in the electoral college than it had been before the war. The end of slavery added two-fifths to the representative volume of the South, and nothing to its vote. By Democratic manipulation the crime of treason would be rewarded rather than punished. Thirty new votes in Congress and College would be the bounty paid the rebels by the juggle of Democratic restoration. Heavy obligations of war were entailed upon the loyal North : the main benefits of peace were to revert to the disloyal South. This gross injustice would also transfer the national control to the Democratic party. To prevent such wrong and calamity, the loyal majority determined settlement by means of the Constitutional Amendments. At this juncture the adherents of loyalty for the first time divided. Seward, Chase, Dix, Raymond, with many other prominent Republicans, objected to some extreme features of Reconstruction.

John A. Andrew, the war Governor of Massachusetts, made an eloquent plea for a policy of Southern re-organization that would invite the co-operation of the best men and natural leaders.

The amendments especially discriminated against that class. Many soldiers in the Republican party regretted such discrimination. They felt, that had the North been beaten, and had terms been suggested demanding as a return to political fraternity that the voters of the Northern States should by their own act disqualify and dishonor their leaders, they would have died before receiving rights or privileges that could not be shared by the men they loved and honored. This element in the Reconstruction plan of disqualifying the influential classes of the South was the secret not only of Republican opposition before it became law, but explains the resistance of the property-owner and the educated classes when subsequently adopted. To limit Southern power by basing representation on voting races was the plan urged by conservative Republicans.[1]

[1] "If we have the constitutional right to make all men, including negroes, voters in the State they inhabit, let us do it. For to withhold the franchise from any human being solely on account of his color, is unmanly, unchristian, and un-American. If by the nature of our institutions we are precluded from regulating suffrage in the States, let us honestly admit the fact, and cease the attempt 'to do evil that good may come.' It is hardly to be believed that this nation, which exerted its grand energies to suppress a sinful rebellion which sought to subvert its authority and government, after succeeding, should itself violate and disregard its own laws. We are a law-honoring and law-abiding people. If our statutes are wrong, let us repeal them. If our legislation is incomplete, let us correct it; not by forced construction, but by calm and prescribed rules. While we believe that the negro, on the basis of intelligence and patriotism, should be permitted to vote; while we will plead with all our ability for the extension of this privilege to him everywhere, and back up our entreaty by casting our own vote in his favor when and where we have the right so to do, — we have yet to learn how, either as an inherent right of our nature or the civil right

The reduction of representation to voting races would make it impossible, even by a "solid South," to jeopardize loyal supremacy. The policy would, moreover, assign the question of suffrage for freedmen to the States where freedmen resided. The prospect of a great increase in its political importance and influence, by extending suffrage to the blacks, would be likely to decide the South, and establish a progressive party naturally in the hands of the most enlightened citizens. All movements for conciliation on conservative Republican grounds were defeated through the ambition of the Democratic party of the North, and the unmasking of the false character of Southern submission. The pretended renunciation of principles underlying secession, and devotion to the "flag" and the "nation" as loyally understood, were shown to be hypocritical on the part of the Southern masses. The disposition to go "half-way" was principally a Northern sentiment.

The Philadelphia Convention of 1866 was the first appearance of the political leaders of the South in a national body since the opening of the Rebellion. A large portion of the Northern members of this convention were Republicans, and

we receive from the laws, we can compel other men to accept our views, and foist our convictions upon communities of which we make no part, with any title of authority, or any sanction of conferred power. Wherever this nation has the power, it should protect the people. Wherever it can, it should equalize rights, regardless of color, race, or creed."

This extract from a Republican paper shows the opinion and reasoning of the Republican conservatives of that date.

had been soldiers of the Union. They went there to fraternize. The "clasping" fever seized them early, and with the most it had but a short run. This first movement towards national union found that a national love-feast was looked upon suspiciously by the bulk of the Northern loyalists. There rose loud hooting and much jeering at Northern and Southern officers as they walked into the assembly "arm in arm." The heartiest scorn at this gushing tableaux came from those who a few years later went into the express business of "shaking hands over the bloody chasm." The resolutions of this convention were of the genuine pacificatory sort. "Gratitude for peace," a desire "to forget and forgive the past," a reverence for the Constitution "as it comes to us from our ancestors," and a "regard for the Union in its restoration more sacred than ever," were some of the yearnings of "peacemakers" of that day. The soldiers who held these views of reunion then, though some were maimed and all were veterans, were dubbed the "Bread and Butter Brigade." Six years after, the man who invented this term of reproach broke from the Republican party to take the Democratic nomination on a platform which demanded "the immediate removal of all disabilities," "universal amnesty," "local self-government," "State self-government," and the "nation's return to methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power." The wise constituency that joined with the editor of "The Tribune" in de-

nouncing the premature peace-offering at Philadelphia in 1866 did not follow him when, in 1872, he consented to become the figure-head of Democracy in leading the "Confederate brigadiers" back to national rule. The people were then wiser than the "Conservatives," as later they were wiser than the "Independents." They mistrusted Southern professions of loyalty to the Union, and acquiescence in the results of the war. They saw in this political combination at Philadelphia a far greater desire for political power than for real peace. When the hidden countenance of the Prophet of Khorassan was unveiled, the devoted followers of the apostate were paralyzed with fright as they beheld the distorted features of a face they thought divine. So, when the disguise was torn away at Philadelphia, and the Republicans who made part of this first fraternal effort beheld revealed the naked deformity of the Democratic party, they fled from the scene as the youths of the Orient fled from the monster they had been taught to adore.

CHAPTER XIV.

AD INTERIM SECRETARY.

"A MAN can't throw away his tobacco in this country without hitting a justice of the peace," was the way in which an irate son of Massachusetts expressed his contempt for the multiplicity of officials in that State. Plentiful as were civil positions, Grant never held one until appointed secretary of war *ad interim* during Johnson's administration. The removal from the war-office of its energetic and patriotic incumbent, Stanton, was in opposition to the protests of the general of the army. The rejection by the South of the Fourteenth Amendment had darkened the prospect of unity and peace. Congress, for precaution, if not in retaliation for that act, had passed Reconstruction measures, making five military districts of the area of rebellion.

The connection of the war bureau with his own department, and the need of its management by a proper loyal officer, during the parturition of reconstruction, led Grant, as the "safest course," to assent to the wish of the President, and fill the vacancy pending the disagreement between the Executive and Senate with reference to the tenure

of the suspended secretary of war. In accepting the place, Grant was misjudged. It was asserted that he had "gone over to the enemy," that his natural "Copperhead proclivities" had developed, and that he had "betrayed the Union." Had Grant been thin-skinned or over-sensitive, or had he held his personal vindication of more importance than the well-being of the country, he would have declined his doubtful *ad interim* honors, and left public affairs to drift towards confusion. But he was a patriot, and forgot his private annoyance for the common good. He took the position, and held it for five months. He resisted with proper, yet very decided, efforts the Executive action, which day by day was widening the breach newly opened between the contesting sections of the country. Grant remonstrated against the displacement of Sheridan, and wrote to the President, "Allow me to say, as a friend desiring peace and quiet, — the welfare of the whole country, North and South, — that it is in my opinion more than the loyal people (I mean those who supported the government during the great rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very man of all others whom they have expressed confidence in removed." But Sheridan "had to go." Still Grant held on; for he saw that work was to be done. His industry while *ad interim* secretary was untiring. The department needed overhauling sadly; and retrenchment — the principal business of the nation for years following — was begun

by Grant in a manner so judicious and thorough, that it served as a model for all subsequent economists. "Retrenchment was the first subject to attract my attention," Grant says in his report. So vigorous was the reform broom plied among the sinecures, surplus incumbents, idle property, accumulated rubbish, and needless processes of "circumlocution," that in his five months of civil duty he caused a saving to the government of more than six millions before the year expired.[1]

The collision between the President and the Senate concerning the suspension of Stanton, and the validity of the "Tenure of Office Act," made no common crisis. A rupture of the most serious nature between co-ordinate branches of govern-

[1] By his direction, while secretary of war *ad interim*, the duties of the Bureaus of Rebel Archives and of Exchange of Prisoners were transferred to the adjutant-general's office, thus dispensing with the services of a great number of officers and clerks. He reduced the number of agents and subordinates in the Freedmen's Bureau, and largely curtailed its expenses; closed useless hospitals and dispensaries; discontinued a long list of superfluous mustering and disbursing offices, discharging their numerous incumbents and attendants, and thus stopping the needless expenditure of considerable sums. He sold surplus animals, ambulances, wagons, &c., to the amount of $33,535; and superfluous and useless stores and war material of various kinds, amounting to $268,000; and one thousand temporary buildings used by quartermasters throughout the country, to make every practicable reduction in the number of employés on duty under their direction. The result was, that in a short time the monthly expenses of that department, arising from the hire of civilians, had been reduced by $407,065, making an annual saving in this item alone of nearly $5,000,000. Besides the class of employees just mentioned, the numbers of mechanics, laborers, and others, in various branches of the service, were so reduced that the monthly expenditures in this particular were curtailed full $100,000, making an annual saving of more than $1,200,000.

ment was imminent. By the Constitution, the right of removal was secured as the plain prerogative of the President. The Tenure Act, made into law in the heat of the controversy, required concurrent action on the part of the Senate for removing as well as appointing constitutional officers. The law was generally held to be illegal, but had not yet been so reported by the competent tribunal. The President sought to force an opinion from the Supreme Court by having the secretary *ad interim* refuse to obey the operation of the Tenure Act, which, according to the senatorial view, restored Stanton, as his removal had not been approved by the conferring body. To regard the law as void, and have the position ratified by the court, was the policy of the Executive. Grant determined to yield the place on the theory that all laws legally enacted were binding, until overset by judicial process. The plan of the President was revolutionary; that of Grant in conformity to the soundest precepts of law and order. It was an emergency fraught with the most alarming symptoms. The body politic was in an excited and inflammable state. The least mistake would lead to deplorable results. To yield to the President would have been a dangerous precedent in the direction of Executive innovation. The hatred of the contending powers was as relentless as the hostility that Rome held for Carthage. It was fortunate for both the liberties and the integrity of the republic that the secretary *ad interim* was

the real power in the land. Holding with firm hand the army; having the profoundest respect for the law; keeping step to the loyal needs of the hour, — he declined to second the President in his open disregard of statutes rightfully passed; and thus by his patriotic conduct he held the nation to its constitutional restraints.

Grant wrote to the President a letter, of which the following is the conclusion: —

"The course you would have it understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience of any orders of my superior.

"And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter from the beginning to the end as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the secretary of war — my superior and your subordinate — without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey. With the assurance, Mr. President, that nothing less than a vindication of my personal honor and character could have induced this correspondence on my part,

"I have the honor to be very respectfully your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *General.*"

CHAPTER XV.

THE CHANGED CONSTITUTION.

THE North was forced by events to take ultra ground on Reconstruction. Many who hesitated at first were compelled to yield their objections. The attitude of the late rebels had become so offensive and unbearable, that popular indignation was at white heat. Northern justice recoiled with horror at the saturnalia of blood in New Orleans, where Republicans, white and black, were shot down like cattle. "Conciliation" sounded farcical, and "hand-shaking" seemed a mockery when one political opinion was reason for murder, and a meeting of freemen the occasion of massacre. The press of the South was saturated with venom, and full of loathsome abuse of "the institutions and people" of the loyal States. Persecution, terrible and relentless, was dealt out to the loyalists of the South. Sworn testimony gave it that "the national banner is openly insulted, and the national airs scoffed at, not only by an ignorant populace, but at public meetings." It was an open revolt on the part of the South against the proposed methods of settlement, only suppressed by the superior military status of the

central government. The blacks were the subject of "malicious hatred" by the whites. The predjudice against color, being deep-seated, manifested itself in a "denial of civil equality" to the freedmen, and "an aversion shown towards them in an insulting and cruel manner."

The attempt was made to substitute through legislation the serfdom once regulated by the lash. Hostility to the Federal Union as it was comprehended by the North; detestation of Federal officers, military and civil; social ostracism for Northern settlers in the South, displayed in an open contempt for "Yankees" by women and children, whose sullenness and scorn were inborn and incurable, — were among the provocations which instigated a committee of Congress to report on the affairs of the nation: "In return for our kind desire for a resumption of fraternal relations, we receive only an insolent assumption of rights and privileges long since forfeited. The crime we have punished is paraded as a virtue; and the principles of republican government, we have vindicated at so terrible cost, are denounced as unjust and oppressive." This condition of the South so influenced the North in the year 1866, that the people, with the force of great numbers, determined on the most radical method of Reconstruction. The adoption of the Amendments was secured by the election of that year. The nature of the Constitution, when amended, was totally changed. The change was fundamental: it struck deep,

and lifted citizenship out of the limitations of the State, and placed the life, liberty, protection, and privileges of the citizen under the jurisdiction of the nation. The changed Constitution made declaration to the effect, that the flag covered every American, whether found on his native or on foreign soil. It guaranteed to every qualified American a free vote, to be counted once, and but once in each instance, when thrown; the unintimidated vote and the impartial count to be assured with the whole strength of the people. So citizenship, like territorial unity and the public honor, was to be the task of the sovereign nation, and not the affair of the separate State.

The American people, with great deliberation and full realization of the bearing and consequence of their action, changed their Constitution to endow with equal citizenship the black race whom their victorious arms had liberated. Remembering the fidelity of that race to the cause of the Union, its readiness to share all it possessed for the comfort and safety of the loyal soldier; recalling its welcome to our banners in a hostile land, its service as guides to our armies, and its contribution to our exhausted ranks; knowing that no sacrifice was too great for it to make, no task too hard to perform, no watchfulness or labor too exacting to render for loyalty, — the people put it into their changed Constitution, with all the solemnity of the amending power, that, by the organic law, no rebel should come back into the

Union on better terms than the black man, who had never been our foe. "Stalwartism" was born in this crisis. There is no better definition of this significant term than the following extract from Grant's speech at Des Moines: —

"Let us labor for security of free thought, free speech, free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion; encourage free schools; resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall go to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that neither State nor nation shall support any institution, save those where every child may get common-school education unmixed with any atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teaching; leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, and keep Church and State forever separate."

The "Stalwart" believes in the civilization of the free States, which dignifies labor, and maintains exact civil equality of all its units. At the opening of the Centennial Exhibition, a few years ago, the N. Y. "Nation" said, "Government is not an emblem, a name, or an army with banners. It is a bundle of mutual services; and its goodness or badness, and the value of its contributions to the moral growth of the world, depend on the efficiency with which they are rendered. Unless we are supplying the poor and the rich with better justice; unless we are striving to make taxation lighter, and its collection simpler and easier; unless we are discovering modes of making the execution of all the laws more efficient and more

certain; of taking better care of the poor and insane; of giving the young a better education; of bringing the highest intelligence of the community to bear on legislation and administration; of enabling the weak and unlearned to feel secure about the future; of making firmer the hold of the frugal on their savings; of making marriage a more honorable and sacred relation, and children a more solemn responsibility, — all that we heard on Tuesday of the novelty and success of our political system was a reproach, and not a glory." To this the "Stalwart" says, "Amen!" He accepts this test of political goodness and badness. Because Southern civilization tends to reproach such sentiments, he pronounces it vicious, and hence unsafe. It is because free institutions under loyal control tend towards good government that the men who, in 1865, laid down the duties of war to take up the duties of peace, declare for the loyal and progressive administration of affairs as understood by a majority of the North.

Grant struck the key-note of that political faith which is loyal to the core and to the end, when he gave expression to the desire to see the time "when the title of *citizen* carries with it all the protection and privileges to the humblest that it does to the most exalted."

While Grant is spared to America he will be regarded as the grandest living defender and exponent of that civilization founded upon the

dignity, equality, and liberty of man as man, and which finds its fundamental guaranty in the Constitution of the United States as perfected by its late Amendments.

GRANT, EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT.

"If I were a sovereign, I would never call any statesman to my councils who had not shown for one session he could be totally silent." — SIR ARTHUR HELPS.

CHAPTER XVI.

GRANT'S HARDEST BATTLE.

THE sovereign people called Grant to become their chief magistrate, — a man silent in public, except so far as deeds speak, and if capable of, much averse to, making addresses of a popular character. At the Soldiers' and Sailors' and Republican Conventions which met in 1868, he was nominated by acclamation as the loyal candidate for the presidential office "amid thunders of applause." Some of his most intimate friends implored him not to accept the nomination for the presidency. They urged as reasons against it his inexperience in civil affairs, and the probability of embroilments that would be likely to tarnish his unsullied military fame, and permanently affect his historical reputation. To all these counsellors he replied in effect: "All you say is plain to me. I am aware of the difficulties awaiting any man who takes that position with its present complications. I have no ambition for the place. My profession is suited to my tastes and habits. I have arrived at its height, and been honored with a position to continue for life, with a generous

compensation, and satisfactory to the highest aspirations of a soldier. It will be the greatest sacrifice I ever made to give this up for the turmoil of the presidential office. But, if the people ask it, I must yield. For some years the people of America have trusted their sons and brothers and fathers to me; and every step taken with them, in the period from Belmont to Appomattox, has been tracked in the best blood of this country. If now they need me to finish the work, I must accept the duty, if in doing so I lay down the realization of my most ambitious hopes."

He was triumphantly elected, and took the oath of office, March 4, 1869. His messages, public acts, and political course, since then, reflect the best opinion of the country on all matters connected with the yet unsettled affairs growing out of rebellion.

GRANT ON PUBLIC POLICY.

If elected, "it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere."

His principle of action is embodied in the statement:—

"A purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall." — *Letter accepting Nomination.*

GRANT ON EXECUTIVE DUTY.

"On leading questions agitating the public mind, I will always express my views to Congress, and urge them

according to my judgment; and, when I think it advisable, will exercise the constitutional privilege of interposing a veto to defeat measures which I oppose. But all laws will be faithfully executed, whether they meet my approval or not.

"I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, but none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to govern all alike, — those opposed as well as those who favor them. I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution."

GRANT ON PUBLIC CONTROVERSIES.

"In meeting these, it is desirable they should be approached calmly, without prejudice, hate, or sectional pride, remembering that the greatest good to the greatest number is the object to be obtained.

"This requires security of person, property, and free religious and political opinion in every part of our common country, without regard to local prejudice. All laws to secure these ends will receive my best efforts for their enforcement."

GRANT ON FOREIGN POLICY.

"I would deal with nations as equitable law requires individuals to deal with each other."

GRANT ON CITIZENSHIP.

"I would protect the law-abiding citizen, whether of native or foreign birth, wherever his rights are jeopardized, or the flag of our country floats."

GRANT ON THE INDIAN.

"I will favor any course towards them which tends to their civilization and ultimate citizenship."

GRANT ON INDIVIDUAL DUTY.

"I ask patient forbearance, one toward another, throughout the land, and a determined effort on the part of every

citizen to do his share toward cementing a happy union; and J ask the prayers of the nation to Almighty God in behalf of this consummation."

GRANT ON PUBLIC EDUCATION.

"The 'Father of his Country,' in his farewell address, uses the language, 'Promote, then, as a matter of primary importance institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge.' The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution completes the greatest civil change, and constitutes the most important event that has ever occurred since the nation came into life. The change will be beneficial in proportion to the heed that is given to the urgent recommendation of Washington. If these recommendations were important then, with a population of but a few millions, how much more important now!

"I therefore call upon Congress to take all the means within their constitutional powers to promote and encourage popular education throughout the country; and upon the people everywhere to see to it that all who possess and exercise political rights shall have the opportunity to acquire the knowledge which will make their share in government a blessing, and not a danger. By such means only can the benefits contemplated by this amendment to the Constitution be secured."

GRANT ON THE TEST OATH.

"I believe that it is not wise policy to keep from office by an oath those who are not disqualified by the Constitution, and who are the choice of the legal voters; but, while relieving them from an oath which they cannot take, I recommend the release also of those to whom the oath has no application."

GRANT ON ASSESSMENTS.

"The utmost fidelity and diligence will be expected of all officers in every branch of the public service. Political assessments, as they are called, have been forbidden within

the various departments; and, while the right of all persons in official positions to take part in politics is acknowledged, and the elective franchise is recognized as a high trust to be discharged by all entitled to its exercise, whether in the employment of the government or in private life, honesty and efficiency, not political activity, will determine the tenure of office."

GRANT ON CIVIL RIGHTS.

"I sympathize most cordially in any effort to secure for all our people, of whatever race, nativity, or color, the exercise of those rights to which every citizen should be entitled."

GRANT ON THE SUCCESSION.

"Past experience may guide me in avoiding mistakes, inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations. When relieved from the responsibilities of my present trust by the election of a successor, whether it be at the end of this term or the next, I hope to leave to him as Executive a country at peace within its own borders, at peace with outside nations, with a credit at home and abroad, and without embarrassing questions to threaten its future prosperity."

GRANT ON HIMSELF.

"I never sought the office for a second, nor even for a first, nomination. To the first I was called from a life position, — one created by Congress expressly for me for supposed services rendered to the republic. The position vacated I liked. It would have been most agreeable to me to have retained it until such time as Congress might have consented to my retirement, with the rank and a portion of the emoluments which I so much needed, to a home where the balance of my days might be spent in peace and in the enjoyment of domestic quiet, relieved from the cares which have oppressed me so constantly now for fourteen years. But I was made to believe that the public good called me to make the sacrifice.

"Without seeking the office for the second term, the nomination was tendered to me by a unanimous vote of the delegates of all the States and Territories, selected by the Republicans of each to represent their whole number for the purpose of making their nomination. I cannot say that I was not pleased at this, and at the overwhelming indorsement which their action received at the election following. But it must be remembered that all the sacrifices, except that of comfort, had been made in accepting the first term. Then, too, such a fire of personal abuse and slander had been kept up for four years, — notwithstanding the conscientious performance of my duties to the best of my understanding, though I admit, in the light of subsequent events, many times subject to fair criticism, — that an indorsement from the people, who alone govern republics, was a gratification that it is only human to have appreciated and enjoyed."

Grant made mistakes in war: his virtue consisted in never defending or repeating them. He erred in civil administration: it is but to acknowledge his humanity to admit his liability to stumble. He had the military contempt, not always sound, for doctrinaires and politicians. He did not, as it would have been better for him to have done, consult familiarly public men who had done much to make true public sentiment. His method of selecting his cabinet and of making appointments will not stand the test of rigid criticism. There is a better way to choose ministers and high officials than because of their genial qualities or good fellowship. As ninety per cent of the civil list today were officers under Grant, and as no complaint is made now in this direction, it is apparent in the

main that his appointments were judicious. His mistakes came from his generous impulses towards his personal friends, and his determination to stand by them against odds. His reliance upon those who had served with him, and others whom he had intimately known, was over-confident: he could not discredit them. When, early in the war, his old instructor at West Point, who was in his command, had been reported disloyal, he said, "Keep out of the papers every thing against Smith. Any thing against him *must be a lie.*" This was the key of his adhesion to his friends through good and ill report.

He sometimes trusted not wisely, but too well. The motive was always good and true, whatever may have been the mistake. Coming into civil life unprepared, save by natural excellence of judgment, purity of intention, and firmness of resolve, his administration brought the country each year nearer to that consummation of reduced expenses, lessened public debt, unquestioned public credit, and peace at home and abroad, to which he stood pledged in assuming his responsibilities. If those in whom he placed confidence were unfaithful, no one of his bitterest maligners has ever yet dared to impugn his individual integrity, or refuse to him the qualification Aristides said "became a general;" and that is, "to have clean hands."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BESOTTED NATION.

ASK any one of the professional denunciators of Grant the cause of his opposition, it will be re-replied, that corruption flourished, and the civil service was debauched during his administration.

This statement cannot be disputed. War had unloaded upon the community a currency that in volume was far beyond honest business-needs, and was worth much less than its face value. It was the era of latitude in morals as well as looseness in political and commercial dealings. Occupants of congressional and senatorial seats had continued the system, which, from the days of Andrew Jackson, had been growing into general practice, — of farming out the federal patronage. This pernicious system had the effect to increase the force, while it weakened the standard for the individual office-holder.

The temptation to defraud the revenues, together with the inefficiency or infidelity of the official, led to an organized swindling. To protect the treasury there were made many additions to the civil list.

There is a legend that the lambs once got to-

gether, and voted to increase the number of dogs to protect themselves from the ravenous beasts. The affair went on well until the beasts were disposed of; when, being hungry, the dogs turned their attention to mutton. So the flock suffered more from the dogs at last than from the beasts at first. So with our government.

"One bottle of water will not be noticed if I pour it into the rabbi's yearly store," said a close-dealing Hebrew. As every one else had the same thought, and carried it out, it was fatal to the rabbi's store of wine.

The same inclination to be sharp and to take advantage, if not universal, was very general; while inflation careered among us with the mad recklessness of a carnival. So lost to a fine sense of honor had the greater number of property-holders become, that the returns of income, though verified by oath, were deemed incorrect as a rule. The grossness and openness of this way of wronging the treasury was so proverbial and irremediable, that the repeal of the tax was demanded on the score of impossibility in procuring just accounts. If those who had wealth, and could best afford to bear the heavy burdens of the nation, were so unscrupulous as to rob the nation, what could be expected of those less fortunate in possessions, and from other circumstances less likely to be accurate in keeping books? Grant came to the presidency when the spirit of speculation was most rife. He did nothing to create this

unhealthy state of excess; and yet he was held responsible for its continued sway. He found it in existence, and recognized its danger and its demoralizing influence. By all legitimate means he sought to avert the calamity which confronted the country. His State papers are full of caution.

GRANT ON MOIETIES AND FLUCTUATION.

"The present laws for collecting revenue pay collectors of customs small salaries, but provide for moieties (shares in all seizures), which, at principal ports of entry particularly, raise the compensation of those officials to a large sum. It has always seemed to me as if this system must, at times, work perniciously. It holds out an inducement to dishonest men, should such get possession of those offices, to be lax in their scrutiny of goods entered to enable them finally to make large seizures. Your attention is respectfully invited to this subject. Continued fluctuations in the value of gold, as compared with the national currency, has a most damaging effect upon the increase and development of the country in keeping up prices of all articles necessary in every-day life. It fosters a spirit of gambling, prejudicial alike to national morals and the national finances."

GRANT ON OFFICIAL HONESTY.

"It has been the aim of the administration to enforce honesty and efficiency in all public offices. Every public servant who has violated the trust placed in him has been proceeded against with all the rigor of the law. If bad men have secured places, it has been the fault of the system established by law and custom for making appointments, or the fault of those who recommend for government positions persons not sufficiently well known to them personally, or who give letters indorsing the characters of office-seekers without a proper sense of the grave responsibility which such a course devolves upon them. A civil-service reform

which can correct this abuse is much desired. In mercantile pursuits, the business-man who gives a letter of recommendation to a friend, to enable him to obtain credit from a stranger, is regarded as morally responsible for the integrity of his friend and his ability to meet his obligations. A reformatory law which would enforce this principle against all indorsers of persons for public peace, would insure great caution in making recommendations. A salutary lesson has been taught the careless and the dishonest public servant in the great number of prosecutions and convictions of the last two years."

GRANT ON THE TENURE OF OFFICE.

"An earnest desire has been felt to correct abuses which have grown up in the civil service of the country through the defective method of making appointments to office. Heretofore federal offices have been regarded too much as the reward of political services. Under authority of Congress, rules have been established to regulate the tenure of office and the mode of appointments. It cannot be expected that any system of rules can be entirely effective, and prove a perfect remedy for the existing evils, until they have been thoroughly tested by actual practice, and amended according to the requirements of the service. During my term of office it shall be my earnest endeavor to so apply the rules as to secure the greatest possible reform."

GRANT ON REFORM.

"In three successive messages to Congress I have called attention to the subject of "civil-service reform." Action has been taken so far as to authorize the appointment of a board to devise rules governing methods of making appointments and promotions; but there never has been any action making these rules binding, or even entitled to observance where persons desire the appointment of a friend, or the removal of an official who may be disagreeable to them. To have any rules effective, they must have the acquiescence of Congress as well as of the Executive. I commend,

therefore, the subject to your attention, and suggest that a special committee of Congress might confer with the civil-service board during the present session for the purpose of devising such rules as can be maintained, and which will secure the services of honest and capable officials, and which will also protect them in a degree of independence while in office. Proper rules will protect Congress, as well as the Executive, from much needless persecution, and will prove of great value to the public at large in the civil service of the government; but it will require the direct action of Congress to render the enforcement of the system binding upon my successors, and I hope that the experience of the past year, together with appropriate legislation by Congress, may reach a satisfactory solution of this question, and secure to the public service, for all time, a practical method of obtaining faithful and efficient officers and employés."

Macaulay says the ministers of England during the reigns of George the First and George the Second "were compelled to reduce corruption to a system, and to practise it on a gigantic scale." With us the unholy greed for wealth, however gotten, like a virus, had run through the veins of the body politic. There were officials, even secretaries, false to their duty. It must be acknowledged, however, that corruption came from the community, and seduced the officer, instead of being, as in England, a constituent part of the political machinery. The public was the first tempter. In the city of New York, where the importations were of such magnitude that proper superintendence was difficult, the most intricate schemes of deceit were devised. In hosiery,

gloves, and silks, false invoices and false examinations were arranged by collusion; the merchant generally being the originator of the trickery. Cargoes of merchandise were underweighted, and the margin divided between importer and official. Frauds in sugar, wool, metals, by under-valuation, by obtaining appraisements on low grades when high ones should have been rendered, and many processes combining ingenuity with dishonesty, were in daily practice at the great ports. A firm in the East, of the highest reputation, was glad to compromise with government by payment of thousands of dollars.

In the season when hair, other than natural, was the rage, one dealer controlled the market. He dodged impost by importing thoroughly cleaned hair rolled up in sawdust, which then passed as raw hair, and escaped taxation. Taking the material to his warehouse, he merely shook the hair free; and, putting upon it the foreign labels which had reached him by mail, he was enabled to drive the honest merchant out of the field. This offender settled with government by handing over thousands of dollars purloined in this manner.

A distinguished public man came to the Boston Custom House with a certified invoice of a watch. The document had upon it the required consular seal. The gentleman said the bill did not represent the true price, and he wished to pay what was just. The Swiss vender had written him a letter, saying he had made out the account

for half the sum paid, "as he usually did with American purchases," *to lessen the duty.* An idea of the mercantile morals of the foreign tourist is disclosed when it is custom to dock American bills to assist in cheating the revenue. It was affirmed by one of the highest federal officials in New York, that, from his experience, there did not at one time seem to be a dozen merchants in that city who were honest with the government. The mania for wealth, and passion for gain, stimulated by the redundant currency, were demonstrated among all classes. "Corners," "jobs," "brilliant operations in the street," "land schemes," "colonizations," "railroad enterprises," engrossed the attention of men to such a degree, that they had little time to look into the safety or honesty of many investments.

The Pathans of the frontier of India "neither lend money at usury, nor keep shop," because the former is forbidden by the Koran, and the latter they think demeaning as an occupation. It will be well for our republic when conscience will put limitations upon profit, because the law of God requires justice in all things.

To resist the degrading tendencies of the times was the common resolution of thoughtful men. Reform became the demand of the hour. But, in working the reform batteries, some zealous but indiscreet reformers, instead of bearing on the central motive of avarice which had taken possession of the besotted nation, turned upon the President,

and charged him with the guilt of the public rottenness. Every thing abominable was laid to "Grantism." Did a combination of speculators contract to lay wooden pavements in Washington at ruinous cost, it was all "Grantism." Did Western underlings connive at "whiskey frauds," again it was "Grantism." Did cold-blooded directors for undue gain invest the scanty earnings of the freedmen in a scandalous manner, most unjustly the cry went up, "Grantism!"

Hugo revives the story that King James caused suspected witches to be boiled in caldrons, and, tasting the broth, from its flavor would pronounce upon the character of the victim. Self-appointed moral censors hurled into the seething caldron of public calumny the reputation of Grant, and, tasting the unhallowed brewage, brazenly gave out that all the iniquities of the period had the unmistakable flavor of "Grantism." Grant challenged investigation, but no one dared to impugn his personal purity. Corruption was traced to many places and departments: none ever touched his garments. When the startling revelations broke upon him that those near to him, whom he had chosen to uphold his honor with that of the country, were smirched, though his heart felt the blow of the betrayal, with the sternness of Roman justice he gave the order, "Let no guilty man escape." The storm of personal abuse and the consolidation of attack culminated in the political campaign of 1872. The people read the arraign-

ment of his accusers, they heard the bitter words uttered against his fame, and with that majestic emphasis which four millions of intelligent voting citizens only could pronounce, they vindicated the hero of their wars, and bade him once more serve in the place once honored by Washington and Lincoln.

Of his re-election Grant says, —

"I acknowledge before this assembly, representing as it does every section of our country, the obligation I am under to my countrymen for the great honor they have conferred on me by returning me to the highest office within their gift, and the further obligation resting on me to render them the best services within my power.

"This I promise, looking forward with the greatest anxiety to the day when I shall be released from responsibilities that at times are almost overwhelming, and from which I have scarcely had a respite since the eventful firing upon Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, to the present day. My services were then tendered, and accepted under the first call for troops growing out of that event. I did not ask for place or position, and was entirely without influence or the acquaintance of persons of influence, but was resolved to perform my part in a struggle threatening the very existence of the nation — a conscientious duty — without asking promotion or command, and without a revengeful feeling towards any section or individual.

"Notwithstanding this, throughout the war, and from my candidacy for my present office in 1868, to the close of the last presidential campaign, I have been the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equalled in political history, which to-day I feel that I can afford to disregard in view of your verdict, which I gratefully accept as my vindication." — *Second Inaugural Address.*

Benton once said, "Every form of government has something in it to excite the pride and to rouse the devotion of its citizens. In monarchy it is the authority of the king; in a republic it is the sanctity of the laws."

One of the certain tests of fealty to law is to honorably adhere to public fiduciary obligations. That test had its full trial under Grant's presidency; and the uncertainty attending Republican integrity was settled, it is to be hoped, finally. The inviolability of public faith, giving as it does the highest evidence of national character, was the crowning feature of his administration. The danger that threatened the public faith prior to 1868 led the loyal people to select Grant as the candidate most sure to receive popular support.

During his eight years of service, so steadily had the public debt been reduced, so rigidly had our engagements with the public creditor been kept, so judiciously had the public burdens been lessened by funding at low rates of interest and decreased expenditure, that the public credit never stood, up to that time, so high in the estimation of the world as when Grant turned over to his successor the presidential office.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE OLD FIGHT IN A NEW FORM.

NATURAL leaders of the South, unable to prevent the adoption of the constitutional amendments, combined to render them inoperative. To neutralize in that locality the special features of war legislation relative to the constitutional standing of the freed race — to restore the Democratic party to national control — became the effort and ambition of Southern politics. The political vacuum caused by absence of influential white Southerners from States where the emancipated class were an equal number or a majority, was filled by a class of men termed in derision "carpet-baggers." There were whites — some natives, but more "new-comers" — who defied the old Southern rule and sentiment, and cast their lot politically with the blacks. To overthrow power thus obtained, the standard of "home rule" was raised, and was made the shibboleth of the "lost cause" in its revived condition.

The old war-yell of independence was exchanged for the new peace-yell of "local government."

It is still an "irrepressible conflict;" and God means that it shall be so until free institutions,

and justice to the negro, shall exist throughout the land. To say that such justice now exists, is to lie before men and before Heaven.

A political confederacy of repudiating States; the disappearance in a few years of Republican majorities by the "shot-gun policy;" and the banks of the Mississippi lined with fleeing blacks, upheld by thoughts as grand as those which nerved the Hebrew exodus, make false all assertions of Southern freedom or its justice. "Better die in Kansas free than live in the South slaves," said a black refugee; and the sentiment gives promise that the race which holds to such ideas will yet have its rights.

May God help it to that end, and may he help us to help it! "The New-Orleans Times" has this incident: —

"There was an episode in the convention a day or two ago which ought to be preserved in history. It will be remembered that Mr. T. T. Allain, a colored delegate from West Baton Rouge or Iberville, made a remarkably able and sensible speech in opposition to the abolition of the office of superintendent of public education. As soon as he concluded, Mr. McGloin, of one of the up-town wards of New Orleans, arose, and offered a resolution that his speech be translated into all the known languages and dialects for the information and guidance of humanity. We did not notice whether any one laughed. Mr. Allain at once took the floor, and said, —

"'Mr. Chairman, I was formerly a slave. The results of the war emancipated me, and simultaneously placed me under the obligation of fitting myself to discharge the duties of citizenship. While the gentleman from Orleans was per-

fecting himself in all those languages to which he refers, I was picking cotton. The years that I spent in picking cotton he devoted to his moral and intellectual improvement; yet I think I may be pardoned for saying that he might have put his varied accomplishments to a more creditable use than in thus striving to ridicule and deride me in my effort to promote an end I consider right and proper.' "

Just men believe in the Allains more than the McGloins.

From various public documents written by Grant, we take the following extracts:

"Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence, such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people."

To Gov. Chamberlain of South Carolina he says, —

"Go on in the conscientious discharge of duties to the humblest as well as to the proudest citizen, and I will give every aid for which I can find law or constitutional power."

Thus, during the administration of Grant, the States where the black race balanced or outnumbered the white were politically in possession of the loyal party.

That party was composed of a race reared in slavery — therefore unused to responsibility — and of a portion of the white race, from both North and South, who held Republican views from prin-

ciple, but were inclined in many cases to use power for self-interest. Legislation coming from such sources was sure to be improvident. Often wild in its extravagance, and sometimes unjust in its nature, it could not but be a failure. This phase of affairs, under the attempt to project a new race into the experiment of civilization, was as much a natural phenomenon as the half-light of the dawn that comes between night and day.

In this experiment the old rulers of the South were set against the old slaves and their new friends, and in all ways resisted their authority.

Such a political soil was ready to receive the seed of inflation. Black Republicans expected to become learned by large outlays for educational purposes. The whites of the party hoped to get rich by putting the credit of the State into railroad projects; in this they were not sinners above all other men. In peculation, pure and simple, one year of Democratic robbery in the city of New York amounted to more than the entire sum of theft perpetrated in all the States of the South in all the time they were in Republican hands.

There is no form of Republican government possible, but in the agreement to obey the will of the majority "for better or worse." Republics, if they continue republics, like water in motion, will finally run clear.

It was the duty of Grant, under his oath of office, to sustain the States, into whatever hands they came, by legal operation. He did so with

the power he had through the "appropriate legislation" of Congress.

He regretted the mistakes and misdeeds of the Southern Republicans; but he had more faith for the ultimate prosperity of that section in the Republican than in the "old" party.

"Home rule" became the policy of the "old" South. It meant this: wherever there was a Republican majority, to shoot that majority down, or "terrorize" it until the Republican excess was reduced to a minority.

Then came the domination of the lawless South. The planters were stocked with the most improved rifles, and used them in the service of "home rule."

The authority of the United States was openly defied, the loyal judiciary was imperilled, and home rule flourished amid the rattle of shot-guns, the thud of the rifle-ball, and the light of burning churches and schoolhouses, with which the vandals of the South made lurid the Southern sky.

To meet this emergency Grant asked for "appropriate legislation" to combat unlawful with lawful force.

For the first time the people failed him, and his arms were pinioned.

The panic of 1873 had created consternation and havoc in politics.

The election of 1874 went against the administration.

"Change for the sake of change," was a common demand.

Pity for the "home rulers" was a rallying cry with all Democrats and *some* weak Northern Republicans.

Conventions and mass-meetings were convened in the principal cities to give the South *fair play;* that is, where there were three blacks and two whites, to see to it that the whites governed "anyhow."

As all the evils of corruption in the North had been laid to "Grantism," so all the debts, disasters, and disorganization of the South were claimed to be due to the "carpet-bagger" and to the administration of Grant.

The popular vote of 1874, with regard to non-interference by federal force with local government, may be considered irrevocable. Right or wrong, it must be deemed an ultimate decision.

There is a fable that a northern race of elephants in India have all the size, but not quite the wisdom, of their kind. One of this class was elected to govern the animal kingdom. The wolves got from him permission to take a little wool from the sheep to protect themselves from the cold winter. The sheep made complaint that they were being outraged by this "home rule" of the northern elephant. In defence the wolves said the sheep were making an unnecessary fuss: "All they took in a whole year was a *single fleece.*" — "Well, well," said the Bourbon elephant, "I will have no injustice done. Take one fleece from each, but *not a hair more.*"

The following is a specimen of the workings of "home rule:" —

The Hamburgh massacre took place in 1876. Its leader is now a United-States senator from South Carolina.

In 1875 a committee of the Senate of the United States investigated the affairs of Mississippi. The conclusion of the report says, —

"The evidence shows further that the State of Mississippi is at present under the control of political organizations composed largely of armed men, whose common purpose is to deprive the negroes of the free exercise of the right of suffrage, and to establish and maintain the supremacy of the white-line Democracy in violation alike of the Constitution of their own State and the Constitution of the United States."

Murder for political opinions, and denial of constitutional rights to the blacks, have ended in the present voluntary exile of the freedmen.

Seeing their lot becoming harder each year, that less provision in many States is made for their education,[1] and that their fate under the present

1 "How Arkansas Negroes are kept Ignorant. — All the negroes of the county are congregated in Bentonville, where their children are growing up in ignorance. The school law of the State makes some nominal provision for negro schools; but they have no school building, and I believe they never had a school. The class of negroes that hang around the outskirts of a town are seldom of any consequence; and those of Bentonville are no exception. The men drink what whiskey they can get, do a little gardening for a mere song, run errands, and serve as scapegoats for all the *petit* larcenies perpetrated for miles around. In fact, all the stealing is accredited to 'them niggers;' but I noticed that there were no 'niggers' before the grand jury for any offence, while there were several clear-blooded Caucasians, to the manner born, lying in jail awaiting trial." — *Cor. Troy Times.*

rule will certainly reduce them to virtual peonage, they are striking out for a better country. The exodus is the legitimate result of "home rule."

On the 9th of June, 1879, the papers, referring to the exodus, remarked that, —

"Between Baton Rouge in Louisiana and St. Louis in Missouri, on the banks of the Mississippi River, are a large number of companies of black people, — men, women, and children, — who have sold all they had, and started on an emigration to the West. The number is estimated at nearly eight thousand. The places of their bivouac are perfectly known by correspondence. The people have left home, and are now simply waiting for the means of travel. They are starving while they wait. They are in unfriendly surroundings. They supposed they were American citizens, with the rights of American citizens. But it proves that certain steamboat-captains take the privilege of deciding whether they ought to emigrate, or ought not, and leave them, by their decision, to die where they are."

These facts justify the statement that the South is unchanged, or, more correctly, the statement that her last state in some features is worse than the first. It must not be forgotten that the evidence of unpunished murderers of black and white Republicans stamps as a base mockery the phantom of Southern justice, that the obliteration of a vast political organization by the peremptory application of powder and bullet brands as an infamous falsehood the plea of equal rights.

One thing more should be remembered. From the tongue of no prominent Southern man has ever come an acknowledgment of wrong-doing in

forcing war on this nation. To utter such a sentiment would deprive the statesman who avowed it of social and political standing. Why speak of a consistent peace when the righteousness of the act which procured it is denied by the solid South?

At the one-hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, every effort was made by New England to welcome the South. Distinguished guests from that section were entertained with the hospitality of the State of Massachusetts and the city of Boston. Spacious halls decorated with floral loveliness were open to the reception of our Southern fellow-citizens. A hundred thousand voices cheered them as they were recognized in the moving pageant. Yet no warmth of hospitality could win from the Southern visitors the admission that to fight to break up a free government, and to build up a slave government, was wrong of itself.

The same public sentiment at home that closes the gangway of the steamer to the fleeing freedmen closes the lips of the representative of the "solid South" at Bunker Hill or at Washington to the confession that liberty for all is a diviner principle than liberty for some.

In a letter to Gov. Chamberlain of South Carolina, written in July, 1876, Grant advised him to continue the conscientious discharge of his duties. He stated with precision the whole scope of constitutional power, saying, "A government that cannot give protection to the life, property, and all

guaranteed civil rights (in this country the greatest is an untrammelled ballot) to the citizen, is so far a failure, and every energy of the oppressed should be exerted (always within the law and by constitutional means) to regain lost privileges or protection."

To-day there is no government in a majority of the Southern States to protect the life, liberty, or ballot of the minority.

In the old Byzantine wars the conquerors chained their captives together in bands, and pierced their eyeballs with red-hot irons. To the leader they would spare a single eye, that he might guide his forlorn and sightless companions to their mountain homes.

Unless the Providence of God intervenes to create a new and better political sentiment in the South, the inhuman discipline of "home rule" will blind with ignorance and fetter with debt the doomed blacks, until, losing heart and hope, they will slowly wander back to the degradation of that bondage from which it was thought they had mercifully escaped.

GRANT AND CONSTITUTIONAL MONEY.

"Congress shall have power . . .

"To borrow money on the credit of the United States; . . .

"To coin money, regulate value thereof." — *Constitution of the United States.*

"I am not a believer in any artificial method of making paper money equal to coin when the coin is not owned or held ready to redeem the promises to pay; for paper money is nothing more than promises to pay." — GRANT'S *Veto Message on the Senate Currency Bill.*

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR DOLLAR.

THE campaign of 1868 was the beginning of a contest over public honesty not yet ended. The platform of the Democratic party submitted that, "Where the obligations of the government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were passed does not provide, that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States." This meant to force the exchange of interest-bearing bonds for "greenbacks" not carrying interest. It was on that direct issue, keeping faith or breaking it, that the battle was fought. The incentive of the Democratic action was the belief that men had a natural bias for cheating, and would gladly avoid paying their debts if possible.

As the greenback stated on its face that it could legally satisfy all debts but interest and imposts, Democrats held that it could discharge public obligations. The most debasing appeals to cupidity and prejudice were made.

It was asked if the glutted bondholder should

have coin, and the hard-fisted ploughholder should have paper? It was openly said that the bonds were owed abroad, and "who cares if foreigners are not paid?" It was urged that the interest already paid had in some cases amounted to as much as had been received for the bonds; and so to "square off" would be about right. Republicans marched under the banners of public faith. Their fight is thus described: "On the one side are loyal multitudes, and the generous freedmen who bared themselves to danger as our allies, with Grant still at their head; and on the other side are rebels under the name of the Democratic party."

Republicans said, no matter if, by a quibble, we could slink out of the legal obligation to pay the bonds in coin: morally we were bound so to do, inasmuch as all parties at the time understood the contract in that way. The people declared their preference to be honest, and pay their debts when within their power. After pouring out the life-blood of the nation because they chose to fight rather than violate conscience, they spurned the temptation to wrong those who had loaned money to carry on the war, by taking advantage of a flaw or omission in the bond. The people elected Grant on *the basis of honest payment.*

"A great debt has been contracted in securing to us and our posterity the Union. The payment of this, principal and interest, as well as the return to specie basis as soon as it can be accomplished without material detriment to the

debtor class, or the country at large, must be provided for. To protect the national honor, every dollar of government indebtedness should be paid in gold, unless otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract. Let it be understood that no repudiator of one farthing of our public debt will be trusted in public place, and it will go far towards strengthening a credit which ought to be the best in the world, and will ultimately enable us to replace the debt with bonds bearing less interest than we now pay."

So said Grant in his first inaugural, and it led to the passage of the Public Credit Act: —

"That in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the law by virtue of which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and declared, that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United-States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money, or other currency than gold and silver; but none of said interest-bearing obligations not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity unless at such time United-States notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the United States bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin. And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the practicable period for the redemption of the United-States notes in coin."

This may be termed the loyal creed of honesty. It was carried over millions of Democratic ballots,

and but for the personal popularity of Grant might not have been so triumphant.

The currency of the war was not money, and did not purport to be any thing but the best substitute in the place of money, that, in the exigencies that existed, could be devised. It was a promise to the holder to produce money at the option of the maker of the promise. Its excuse for being was the peril of the land. "Any thing is constitutional to save the country," said Lincoln when they told him his call for troops was unconstitutional. It was on that principle that the "legal-tender" note became the war dollar.

The country had to pay dearly for this introduction of paper currency. While war was destroying vast amounts of property, the use of vast amounts of this paper medium was required. When the destruction by war ceased, the paper volume was employed in piling up personal property of all kinds.

There was an overstock of railroads, mills, buildings, manufactured articles, which made an unnatural demand for labor at impossible wages.

A crash came, calamitous in its suspension of all departments of industry, fearful in its contraction of estimates, deplorable in its mercantile depression. It swept away incomes, drove labor to the wall, and caused want and hunger to come to centres of population, and poverty to visit homes where comfort and luxury had always been enjoyed. The prostration of thrift and commerce

was the price paid for attempting to employ in peace a currency made by and absorbed in war. Though we are now recovering from the disheartening consequences of the late painful business trials, another misfortune came with paper currency, from which we have not yet rallied and are not soon likely to rally. It created an appetite for permanent inflation. It gave rise to a wild financial school. They who found it "against their principle to pay interest," or against their "interest to pay principal," rallied for a paper millennium. The heaviest curse produced by paper currency was the popular folly which demanded the political or paper dollar as a medium of exchange.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FIAT DOLLAR.

THE friends of the "fiat" dollar boldly said their dollar must be worthless in itself, but should pass as the circulating medium of barter between man and man by the sheer power of the majority. Law, they told us, gives to money its function, and it can give function to any thing.

It was a device, we were told, of the capitalist, that money shall possess value. Valuable money is hoarded. Valueless money has the faculty to be got rid of, and that makes things lively. A late utterance of a Solon of "fiat" was: "At the present time the gold dollar of the money-king has a purchasing power from forty to sixty per cent greater than before the war. At the present time the masses do not have the necessary money to purchase the goods which now glut the market." It is an essential tenet of communism, that when the individual is short of any thing the State shall furnish it. The soul of the "fiat dollar" is communistic.

In a country where suffrage is universal, the vote must represent false or true principles of action. The voter here is undergoing *some* kind

of education. More extensively than ever before, among the great army of the "dissatisfied," among the mechanics who are sullen from struggle with life, among the merchants, speculators, and manipulators, who remember the "kiting" days of the past, the seeds of communism are being scattered profusely, and are taking root. The literature of the International is freely disseminated; and the most flagrant pandering to the envy and jealousy of those who have little, against those who have much, is the outgrowth of that communistic spirit which with us flourishes wherever the paper theory succeeds. Fiat conventions do not put communism in their platforms, but their private conversation reeks with the foul heresy.

Tell a fiat enthusiast that the Constitution is adverse to his opinions, — that Congress has only power to "coin money," — he will tell you that he interprets the Constitution to have the implied power to do every thing for the people that has not in that document been forbidden by the people.

A man bought a horse of a church-member, and found he was spavined. He went to him, and asked, "Are you a Christian?"

"Well, yes, I think I am."

"Do you read the Bible?"

"I do."

"You had better read it again."

"Why?"

"You sold me a horse with spavin."

"You look here. You just go over the Bible

yourself, and, if you find one word in it where a Christian is required to mention spavin in connection with a horse-trade, I'll take him back."

The paper financier, not finding a word in the Constitution that says Congress shall not make paper money, says Congress can and shall make a "greenback."

The disciples of inflation might learn a lesson from the story of Ulysses.

When about to start homeward after tarrying with the God of Winds, to hasten his journey Eolus tied the contrary winds in a bag, —

> "With a bright chain of silver, that no breath
> Of ruder air might blow. He only left
> The west wind free to waft our ships and us
> Upon our way."

The travellers had come almost in sight of their native shore; and, while Ulysses slept, the sailors complained that wherever they had been together, "rich gifts of gold and silver" had been tendered to the chief alone, though all had shared the perils of the voyage. Curiosity led them to examine the concealed treasure.

> "Thus speaking to each other, they obeyed
> The evil counsel. They untied the sack,
> And straight the winds rushed forth, and seized the ship,
> And swept the crews, lamenting bitterly,
> Far from their country, out upon the deep."

There is no need to "point this moral:" to "adorn the tale" is a hopeless task.

The war currency had no support from Grant in its unredeemed state. He said, —

"Fluctuation, in the paper value of the measure of all values (gold), is detrimental to the interests of trade. It makes the man of business an involuntary gambler; for, in all sales where future payment is to be made, both parties speculate as to what will be the value of the currency to be paid and received. I earnestly recommend to you, then, such legislation as will insure a gradual return to specie payments, and put an immediate stop to fluctuations in the value of currency." — *Inaugural, 1869.*

CHAPTER XXI.

THE HONEST DOLLAR.

In his first message Grant called attention to the fact that "among the evils growing out of the Rebellion, is that of an irredeemable currency. It is an evil which I hope will receive your earliest attention. It is a duty, and one of the highest duties, of government, to secure to the citizen a medium of exchange of fixed, unvarying value. This implies a return to specie basis, and no substitute for it can be devised."

In 1875 a law was passed containing the clause, "On and after the first day of January, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United-States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars."

Most extraordinary pressure was brought to bear upon the President, to induce him to withhold his signature from the Resumption Bill.

Many of Grant's warmest personal friends were ardent inflationists. Eminent bankers, leading

merchants, men with the care of great railroad enterprises, by petition, by personal appeal, by letter, and by telegraph, warned him of ruin to the country by forcing resumption.

Prominent Republicans doubted the policy of naming a day when we should redeem. It was derided as a party dodge and a visionary scheme. Not for one moment did Grant waver. He felt that if the occasion slipped by, it might not come again. The bill was right. The vital interests of the country demanded that we should come back to financial sanity. The honor of the people could only be maintained by redeeming their outstanding pledges. By his act the bill became law, and because of that act resumption is now an accomplished fact. It was among the last acts of special importance in his administration, and was the consummation of a recommendation made by him in his first state paper. It was the finality of the war currency; and by this act the American people once more had a circulation convertible into specie, the honest, constitutional money of "their fathers."

We are to-day — because we had Grant for President — regarded by the world as an honest nation. Our credit is second only to that of England.

We are not, however, out of danger. Formidable agencies are at work to take from us our "good name" for honesty. Stripped of sophistry, the "greenback" agitation was a crusade of dishonesty.

There is, in kind, no difference of morality between the act of the highwayman who takes a purse after presenting his pistol, and the act of a voter who scales a debt by dishonest legislation. The motive in both cases is to get that which belongs to another: it is the method only that varies. The champions of cheap money are, just now, beaten; but the area of dishonesty has not been contracted, its activities are not lessened.

Twelve States have repudiated more or less of their debts. Eleven of them are Southern; one, to its shame, is a Northern State. Nearly a third of the Republic has upon it the stain of dishonor.

Capital and labor are very far from being upon the terms of amity needed for their common interest. We are separating into classes; habits are changing; feelings of bitterness, strange to this country, are being manifested, and the breach between the "well-to-do" and the ill-provided-for is widening.

Late immigration brings us more agitators and less agriculturists than formerly.

Commercial integrity is more and more inclined to find its incentive rather in the maxim that "honesty pays," than in the principle of accountability to a higher than earthly tribunal. Every large town and city with us has resorts where levelling and agrarian ideas fester and spread, and the ignorant voter is receiving a street and shop education tainted with the socialism of Germany and the nihilism of Russia. The

thin end of the communistic wedge is labelled "cheap money." Cheap money is always bad money. Said Grant, in one of his messages, "A poorer currency will always drive the better out of circulation. With paper a legal tender, and at a discount, gold and silver become articles of merchandise as much as wheat or cotton. The surplus will find the best market."

What we need in this country is thorough primary discussion, face to face with the people, on the elementary principles of political economy. The delusion that there is any easy way or short cut out of the inequalities of human conditions is as cruel in its effect as it is false in its start. Opportunity for each and all to get out of the world all they can, by all ways and means except immoral, selfish, and illegal ones, is the central principle of our government. There is a moral obligation to use means, power, and talent for the common good; but to regulate morals is beyond the province of law.

We are soon to be in a political controversy over the function of silver as money. Silver, when coined, is constitutional money — but a silver dollar can be a lie or a truth. Silver payment can be just or unjust. It is right to use silver in a right way; it has value, and should be used for what it is worth. It may be wise for us to co-operate for the recognition by all nations of silver as money, when coined.

The silver issue will enter into the coming

grave national campaign of 1880, and the Democrats and inflationists will "pull together." In their hands the volume of silver is to be carried to the point of utmost depreciation. Their cardinal point is cheap money, or money that will "float."

To cheapen silver is to raise prices, and they are for high prices. It will enable the debtor to pay his creditor in a less value than the latter had a right to expect. To make ninety, eighty, or sixty cents in payment do the work of one hundred cents of contract, is to the expansionist a "consummation devoutly to be wished."

The Republicans of the country are to join issue on the silver fight. They will deal with this metal as they did with the war-currency, — justly. It will be their object to make silver as they made the "greenback," as "good as gold," so that silver and paper alike shall represent an honest dollar.

It was fourteen years prior to the passage of the Resumption Act that Grant had left the humble tanyard at Galena, to respond to the call of his country.

He had, by what some regard as destiny, but others more reverently hold to be the guidance of Providence, been permitted to do great deeds and to receive great honors.

With the aid of his trusted generals and his loyal legions, he had carried the flag of the nation through all the vicissitudes of war, and had brought

it back to the American people with every star shining and its stripes purified by victory.

The grateful nation had created for him a military honor no other American had ever borne. Twice he had been chosen chief magistrate, serving through eight years of unparalleled civil confusion and unprecedented commercial desolation. By the help of his loyal associates in other branches of government, he had been enabled to bring back the "age of gold," and had thereby added to the renown of America not only the title of a brave, but the higher glory of an honest, people. Will we keep the honor?

GRANT AS A RETIRED CÆSAR.

"Tell me, O Muse! of that sagacious man,
Who, having overthrown the sacred town
Of Ilium, wandered far, and visited
The capitals of many nations." — *Odyssey.*

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPERIALISM.

WHEN the comet resembled a cross, it received the blessing of the chief pontiff: when it assumed the shape of a Turkish cimeter, the head of the Church cursed it vigorously. Popular adulation passes into popular censure sometimes with equal rapidity. Periodically this country is afflicted with spasms over some imagined case of imperialism. At an early date in our history Jefferson was seized with an apprehension that we were on the brink of monarchy. If John Adams wore curled hair, or indulged in the pompous airs for which he was said to be noted, the Jefferson school saw crowned heads and sceptres in the distance. This school was in constant terror over a possible king.[1]

[1] John Adams says that the difference between him and Jefferson was, 1. In the difference between speeches and messages. I was a monarchist. I thought a speech more manly, more respectful to Congress and the nation: Jefferson and Rush preferred messages. 2. I held levees once a week, that all of my time might not be wasted in idle visits: Jefferson's whole eight years was a levee. 3. I dined a large company once or twice a week: Jefferson dined a dozen every day. 4. Jefferson and Rush were for liberty and straight hair: I thought curled hair as republican as straight.

This nervous Jeffersonian trait has been transmitted; and every generation has had its timid prophets, who have seen "handwritings on the wall," that portended the Atlantic Cæsar. Said a State legislator, "I'm agin five-inch cart-wheels. Our fathers did their business with four-inch ones. If they was good enough for them, they is good enough for us. I'm agin this five-inch move. I see monarchy in it." Cæsarphobia is found in two extremes, — the backwoods statesman of hay-seed propensities, and the Eastern dilettant who has run to seed. It was the touching statement of Pecksniff that "in the nose of my eldest and chin of my youngest their sainted parent lives again." In the boisterous rhetoric of the frontier granger, and the polished sentences of the Atlantic pamphleteer, the spirit of Jefferson lives again. Grant was the occasion of the latest imperialistic scare. The possibility that he might be chosen three consecutive terms gave rise to an outcry against the monarchical tendency. The doubtful dagger which troubled the vision of Macbeth found a counterpart in the royal blade that in imagination waved in the hands of Grant. Cæsarism was the synonyme of Grantism. The classics were searched to find examples of ambitious men who had plotted for empire, to range beside our Cæsar. If Grant travelled in a steamboat on which a brass-band discoursed music, if he drove "a four-in-hand" at Long Branch, or if he asked for troops to protect the hunted black people, to some these

affairs were "confirmation strong" that Grant intended to seize the government, and that he was practising the rôle of king. Frantic harangues were made by alarmists; and ink-black warnings written by excited correspondents, that Grant never would give up the Presidency, but would become a military dictator.

The man, of whom it was predicted that he would perpetuate his power at the point of the bayonet, withdrew from the public in the most quiet and unostentatious manner; gladly leaving his high civic station to re-enter private life. Instead of seeking to wield the sword of empire, Grant has never been known to lift his finger for his own advancement. In a letter he had said, —

"Now for the third term. I do not want it any more than I did the first. I would not write or utter a word to change the will of the people in expressing and having their choice. The question of the number of terms allowed to any one executive can only come up fairly in the shape of a proposition to amend the Constitution, — a shape in which all political parties can participate, fixing the length of time or the number of terms for which any one person shall be eligible for the office of President. Until such an amendment is adopted, the people cannot be restricted in their choice by resolution further than they are now restricted as to age, nativity, &c.

"It may happen in the future history of the country, that to change an executive because he has been eight years in office will prove unfortunate, if not disastrous. The idea that any man could elect himself President, or even renominate himself, is preposterous. It is a reflection upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people to suppose such a

thing possible. Any man can destroy his chances for the office, but no one can force an election, or even a nomination. To recapitulate: I am not, nor have I ever been, a candidate for a renomination. I would not accept a nomination if it were tendered unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty, — circumstances not likely to arise."

Faithful to the contents of this letter, Grant, after being elevated from an obscure position to become chief among forty millions of people, laid down his honors not only without a murmur, but with a sense of relief, — going back to the people after serving their will, seeking nothing, desiring nothing, but the privileges of a retirement that could only be disturbed by the command of the people, which to him has ever been a summons to duty. From the moment that one of his townsmen by persistent effort obtained for him a subordinate appointment in the volunteer army, to the time of his return to the ranks of citizenship, every honor had come to him unsought. While suffering unjust treatment, and subject to unfounded suspicion, he did not resort to political influence for vindication.

In all matters of public policy the public judgment was law to him. Examine his eventful career with the closest scrutiny, and not a sign of intrigue or inclination for personal aggrandizement can be traced. Yet speeches elaborately prepared, requiring hours for delivering, sought to prove him the basest aspirant for place, and to fasten

upon him the stain of imperial ambition. A stream of vilification poured over him for years. No instance of sordid greed for wealth or glaring thirst for power, and nothing of disrepute that imagination could invent when history failed, were left unhidden or unsaid by those who had banded to counteract the power of Grant by blasting his reputation. There were great men who did this, believing that duty required the task. There were little men who echoed these sentiments for the notoriety which comes from the mere fact of abusing men of eminence. "A very small fly can worry a very large horse, and still the fly is a fly, and the horse is a horse," is a saying attributed to Dr. Johnson. Human flies have some capacity for annoyance if they have none for positive injury.

In relinquishing official responsibility, Grant looked forward to that enjoyment at home, and pleasure by travel abroad, impossible while in public position. His modesty in speech, and his desire for others to share the attentions heaped upon him, is the best answer that can be made to the dribble and nonsense about imperialism.

In taking leave of his friends at Philadelphia, before starting upon his now famous foreign tour, he said in reply to very complimentary remarks, —

"I do not regard myself as entitled to all the praise. I believe that my friend Sherman could have taken my place as a soldier as well as I could, and the same will apply to Sheridan."

"I believe," said he, "that, if our country ever comes into trouble again, young men will spring up equal to the occasion, and if one fails there will be another to take his place." If that is the spirit and language of "Cæsarism," the more of it the better for the country.

Over the bier of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips pronounced a sentence that should be cut in marble or raised in bronze, upon the monument yet to commemorate the noblest of all Puritan philanthropists: —

"IF YOU SEEK THROUGH THE HIDDEN CAUSES AND UNHEEDED EVENTS FOR THE HAND THAT WROTE EMANCIPATION ON THE STATUTE-BOOKS AND ON THE FLAG, IT LIES STILL THERE TO-DAY." It lessens no honor due the man who consecrated his life to the cause of the slave, to avow the fact that the same overruling power which gave effect to the pen of Garrison also guided the sword of Grant when it cut the Gordian knot which, from the origin of the nation, had been alike our danger and our dishonor. The great agitator is dead. The magistrate whose signature made emancipation legal became the martyr of loyalty. The soldier who led the triumphant armies which made emancipation a fact survives those associated with the grandest event since the Christian era began. He takes rank justly as our first living citizen.

It is the recreation of Carlyle to scoff at our country and our countrymen. It has been said

that he regards the time spent in the company of Americans as lost. To avenge himself for the "forced loan" of his society to Americans, which etiquette sometimes requires him to make, Carlyle wounds his listeners in a tender place, by asserting, in his broadest Scotch dialect, that "G-e-a-r-g-e Washington did not amount to much either as a statesman or general." Frederick the Great, in the fourth year of the "Seven Years' War," was beaten near his capital. It was a "universal rout." "Shattered in body and in mind," the retreating king found refuge in a deserted farmhouse. He sent a despatch to the royal family to leave Berlin. "The defeat was in truth overwhelming; of the fifty thousand men who had that morning marched under the black eagles, not three thousand remained together." Of Frederick it has been said, that "his heart was ulcerated with hatred." He once wrote, "I begin to feel, as the Italians say, revenge is a pleasure for the gods. My philosophy is worn out by suffering. I am no saint like those of whom we read in the legends; and I will own that I should die content if I could only first inflict a portion of the misery which I endure." Carlyle spent fifteen years in writing the life of Frederick the Great. A number of bulky volumes contain his estimate of that Prussian soldier. Surely we can afford to be patient under the spite of the eminent Scotch termagant, as he projects his gall upon the men and the ideas of America, when we can present in contrast to his famous

hero a captain who never lost a battle, and whose heart never felt any sentiment of hatred to the foes he fought and conquered.

Edmond de Pressensé, writing on Thiers, says, "This was he whom last year the Chamber of Deputies named with acclamation when it interrupted M. de Fourtou, the worthy minister of the government of intriguers and conspirators, which had grasped the power on the 16th of May, 1877. He had here the impudence to pay homage for the liberation of the country to the monarchical majority of the National Assembly, when more than three hundred deputies rose like a single man, and, pointing at the illustrious old man, exclaimed, "Le voilà, le libérateur de la France, le voilà!"

Should the question be put to the American people, what one of their number had been most instrumental in aiding the supremacy of the flag upon which EMANCIPATION was written, and who in the calm of peace had done most to write upon that flag the word HONOR after LIBERTY and LOYALTY, it would be the acclaim of the nation that this great dignity belonged to Grant.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GRANT ABROAD.

PRIGGISH Americans have been made very uncomfortable by the manners of both Lincoln and Grant. Taking their idea of presidential deportment from Everett's finished discourse upon Washington, and being impressed with the fact that the first chief magistrate rarely, if ever, smiled in his maturer years, the awkward appearance of Lincoln and his fondness for stories, the imperturbability of Grant and his attachment to horses, — have been a perpetual source of irritation to those who have notions of decorum based on the soundest provincial standards. These might find relief in their distress by reading Emerson, the most genial, if not the most authoritative, of the apostles of culture. Says Emerson, "The hero should find himself at home, wherever he is; should impart comfort, by his own security and good-nature, to all beholders. The hero is suffered to be himself. A person of strong mind comes to perceive that for him an immunity is secured so long as he renders to society that service which is native and proper to him; an immunity from all the observances, yea, and duties, which society so tyranni-

cally imposes on the rank and file of its members." For two years the man of whom it had been often remarked, "He is a consummate soldier, but under no circumstances could he ever act the *gentleman*," has been in the society of "princes, potentates, and powers;" and has passed the social ordeal, not only with sufficient decorum, but with great distinction. The fine adaptation of his responses to the immediate and exact duty before him, and his manly modesty in attributing to the greatness of the nation over which he had presided, the cause of the marked attention accorded to him, cannot fail to strike with admiration whoever has read or may read his travels abroad. Replying to the mayor of Manchester, England, he said, "I was very well aware, during the war, of the sentiments of the great mass of the people of Manchester toward the country to which I have the honor to belong; and also the sentiments with regard to the struggle in which it fell to my lot to take a humble part. . . . I therefore accept, on the part of my country, the compliments which have been paid to me as its representative, and thank you for them heartily."

At Salford he said, "I cannot help feeling that it is my country that is honored through me."

At Leicester, "Allow me in behalf of my country to return you thanks for this honor, and for your kind reception, as well as for the other kind receptions which I have had since the time that I first landed on the soil of Great Britain.

As children of this great Commonwealth, we feel that you must have some reason to be proud of our advancement since our separation from the mother country. I can assure you of our heart-felt good-will, and express to you our thanks on behalf of the American people." This resembles Cæsarism as nearly as the cloud on which Polonius gazed resembled a whale. At the reception given to Grant by the American ambassador, the apartments were crowded with dukes, marquises, earls, the lord chancellor, and lesser nobles; and the prigs may be glad to learn that the behavior of the "great horse president" was unexceptionable. The freedom of the city of London, "the highest honor that can be paid by this ancient and renowned corporation," was extended to Grant. To the presentation banquet eight hundred guests were invited; and the "freedom of the city was presented in a gold casket," and all the ceremonies were of the most interesting nature. His speech in response to the Lord Mayor may be taken as a model of simple strength and dignity. It was received with the most hearty cheering; and from the absence in it of toadyism, and the "slop-over" trait so common in American speeches, it could be imitated with great advantage by some of our literary lights.

"It is a matter of some regret to me, that I have never cultivated that art of public speaking which might have enabled me to express in suitable terms my gratitude for the compliment which has been paid to my countrymen and my-

self on this occasion. Were I in the habit of speaking in public, I should claim the right to express my opinion, and what I believe will be the opinion of my countrymen when the proceedings of this day shall have been telegraphed to them. For myself, I have been very much surprised at my reception at all places since the day I landed at Liverpool, up to my appearance in this the greatest city in the world. It was entirely unexpected, and it is particularly gratifying to me. I believe that this honor is intended quite as much for the country which I have had the opportunity of serving in different capacities, as for myself; and I am glad that this is so, because I want to see the happiest relations existing, not only between the United States and Great Britain, but also between the United States and all other nations."

At a dinner given to him by Mr. Thomas Hughes, the host, in proposing the health of his distinguished guest, relieved him of the "burden of a formal reply." Grant, however, rose and said, "Mr. Hughes, I must none the less tell you what gratification it gives me to hear my health proposed in such hearty words by Tom Brown of Rugby." A *gentleman* could hardly have done better. He dined with the Prince of Wales, in company with the Emperor of Brazil, at the Marlborough House; and later there was a banquet given by the Trinity Corporation in their hall on Tower Hill, the Prince of Wales presiding. The company was a distinguished and brilliant one. Among others were Prince Leopold, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, the Prince of Leinengen, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the Duke of Wellington, and the Earl of Derby.

The Prince of Wales in his speech said, "It

attentions, and have had ovations, free hand-shakings, and presentations from different classes, and from the Government, and from the controlling authorities of cities, and have been received in the cities by the populace. But there is no reception I am prouder of than this one to-day. I recognize the fact that whatever there is of greatness in the United States, or indeed in any other country, is due to the labor performed. The laborer is the author of all greatness and wealth. Without labor there would be no government or no leading class, or nothing to preserve. With us labor is regarded as highly respectable. When it is not so regarded, it is then man dishonors labor. We recognize that labor dishonors no man; and no matter what a man's occupation is, he is eligible to fill any post in the gift of the people. His occupation is not considered in the selection of him, whether as a law-maker or an executor of the law."

Grant's reply to the mayor of Liverpool is most loyal to his country: —

"*Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,* — You have alluded to the hearty reception given to me on my first landing on the soil of Great Britain, and the expectations of the mayor that this reception would be equalled throughout the island have been more than realized. It has been far beyond any thing I could have expected. [Cheers.] I am a soldier, and the gentlemen here beside me know that a soldier must die. I have been a president, but we know that the term of the presidency expires; and, when it has expired, he is no more than a dead soldier. [Laughter and cheers.] But, gentlemen, I have met with a reception that would have done honor to any living person. [Cheers.] I feel, however, that the compliment has been paid, not to me, but to my country. I cannot help but at this moment being highly pleased at the good feeling and good sentiment which now exist between the two peoples who of all others should be good friends. We are of one kindred, of one blood, of one

argument fails, is to resort to ridicule. There being no constitutional objection in choosing a President every four years, for as many four years as the people see fit, the organs that have contracted to "smash" the third-term movement meet it with gibes. Aware that the position, that to elect a President for three terms will end in his re-election for life, is to concede that the people are incapable of self-government, the plan now is to "pooh-pooh" and laugh down the proposition to take Grant again. His trip abroad gave rise to the following exhibition of anti-third-term wit:—

"The European nobles would soon fall into the way of taking a hand in the presidential canvass. When an ex-President arrived on their shores, they would receive him with increasing honors on seeing that it tickled the Americans. Then, if there were two ex-Presidents in the field pitted against each other, the campaign orators of each side would endeavor to show that their man had had bigger dinners in Europe, and had been received by more crowned heads, and had had more elephants in his procession, than the other man."

As this is the sort of intellectual pabulum upon which a certain class of voters are fed, and as it is perhaps the nearest approach to an argument given us by the other side, whoever feels that a possible exigency might demand another term for Grant, may congratulate himself that the gravest danger attending the innovation upon custom would be the habit of rival candidates making political thunder by ex-presidential trips to Eu-

rope. We can afford to face this bugbear. Grant, if re-elected, could not retire till 1885. Should his successor prove a Democrat, and serve the usual eight years, the "big dinner," "crowned head," and "white elephant" rivalry, which now keeps awake the guardians of the public virtue, could by no means occur until after 1896. These dates are given, that the innocent political babes who are sustained on such editorial pap may be soothed or strengthened.

It was not because he was an ex-President, but because he was Grant, that he had unusual honor. A visit by a former ex-President was as free from special attention as would be the foreign tour of one of the staff of the most prominent organs of the eight-years-and-out idea. "The divine horses of Persia allow no one to ride them but their own heroes." The civilities of Europe are proffered, and three presidential terms are suggested in America, only to the man whose life and deeds have made him such a hero as the good and brave of the world delight to honor and trust. One of the public documents of the United States contains two thousand pages, filled with letters from all governments of the earth, from famous men of letters, from occupants of high station, expressing sorrow at the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It may be doubted whether there exists another such compilation of heartfelt sympathy.

There is now being issued an account of the journey of Grant around the globe. From this

volume we have extracted largely. Its contents will number from twelve to fifteen hundred pages. It will relate the incidents attending the "visit to the capital of many nations" of a living American. It will tell of the most significant courtesy extended by kings and nobles on the one hand, and the people on the other, to a republican citizen, and one of the "foremost captains of his time." Nothing will touch the heart of the reader more than the sincere regard of strange races for their honored guest. If there are some Americans who will read it with a sneer, there are multitudes who will read it with quickened faith in Grant, and with an eye to the near future.

splendor with a triumphal march. The world makes no mistake in its voluntary recognitions. First and last it bestows its highest estimate on greatness. The recognitions of Grant were not due merely to the high positions he had held. They were paid to one who, by his acts, was entitled to high rank among marked men. The same instinctive respect which caused two continents to lavish attention upon Grant is about to extend to him, when he touches again the shores of the Republic, such a welcome as no man has ever received among us.[1] The greetings of the Old World for him will scarcely have died away before the rejoicing of the New World will begin. Preparations by cities and States now making are but symptoms of that outburst of affection and esteem awaiting Grant. The silence of Grant while President had subjected him to unfavorable comment. It was a fling often made, that he was incapable of doing any thing but to butcher men in war. "Until polished, the precious stone is not brilliant." Until the occasion came, Grant had little to say: when it came, he never failed to say the right word at the right time. This unsuspected gift has made his maligners unhappy, for one main point of attack is gone. Nothing is left to the chronic contemner of Grant but the revival of the scandals of an unfortunate period in our career. But the people understand that the c

[1] Written before Grant's return.

perform political duties in obedience to conscientious conviction, will unite in hearty jubilee over the return of Grant. There is existing at the present time a conviction, which is likely to increase in intensity, that a new peril may require the extricating hand of Grant. So powerful is this sentiment already, that it is sustained by a great majority of the most influential members of the loyal political party. In the late Republican convention of Iowa, when the "silent man, now ploughing the Chinese seas," was referred to as the best standard-bearer of Republican principles, cheer upon cheer responded to the suggestion.[1]

Among the reasons given by the business-men of Chicago, for the unanimity of choice for Grant in 1880, was a growing "distrust of the future. . . . The communistic outbreaks, the partial successes of Kearney and his friends, the threats of the men who are now drilling at socialistic gatherings in many of the Western cities," have, it was said, "all conspired to urge on the movement in favor of Grant."

To the present ministerial government of England, the Duke of Argyle said lately,—

"My lords, you are beginning to
people of this country are beginning
obtained for them what they expect

found out. The
o see you have no
t. It is not we, t'
le at the gathering of
Grant was alluded to
Sloum, and McQua
ience "rose from their
their hats wildly," —

[1] During the ovation and speeches mad
veterans at Albany yesterday, whenever Gen.
withstanding the presence of Gens. Hooker,
many illustrious heroes, the immense audien
pounded with their canes, and waved their
paper.

fluences which dominate it again and still. You want to restore that domination. We mean to resist you at every step and by every lawful means that opportunity places in our hands. We believe that it is good for the country, good for every man, North and South, who loves the country now, that the government should remain in the hands of those who were never against it. We believe that it is not wise or safe to give over our nationality to the dominion of the forces which formerly and now again rule the Democratic party. We do not mean to connive at further conquests, and we tell you that if you gain further political power, you must gain it by fair means and not by foul."

The loyal people of America look upon the solid South as the survival of the Rebellion. With a revulsion that words fail to express, they see that "local government in one portion of our land is no better than despotism tempered with assassination." The nationalization of the "solid South" they see will open elections in the great Northern cities to systematic fraud, so that suffrage will be nullified by rascality.

Therefore while the spirit of rebellion still lingers, and its ambition for political power is plainly divulged, the people welcome the return of one who, under the Providence of God, has been equal to all our late emergencies; and, as impending menace to our future confronts, they rejoice—

GRANT AND THE NEXT EMERGENCY.

"Cheer answers chéer from rise to set
Of sun. We have a country yet.
The praise, O Lord, be thine alone,
That givest not for bread a stone!
Thou hast not led us through the night
To blind us with returning light;
Not through the furnace have we passed
To perish at its mouth at last."

WHITTIER: *After Election.*

candidacy has assumed national proportions. It is a movement of the people. The party manipulators have been quiet and cold, if not averse to the popular "ground-swell." In most States the Republican unity for Grant is without precedent. In spots where it has been discovered by special illumination, that the "chief end of man," as a voter, is to mutilate his ticket to make it perfect; the number who croak over the disasters of 1874, and who with parrot-like monotony harp on a few offensive names, is small, compared with those who believe, that, take him for all in all, Grant will best secure the peace, honor, and prosperity of the people. Notwithstanding frantic efforts made to get Grant out of the way, by making up a plethoric purse to content him as "the sands of life are running out," or wild projects to install him into the presidency of trans-continental canals and railways; and notwithstanding the more ingenious bribe of a new military title and occupation, with the attractive accompaniment of a large income, and life-tenure; notwithstanding the spleen of uneasy carpers, and the railing of self-appointed moral censors, who aspire to an apron-string authority by which they can lead at will the wayward multitude, — in spite of all, Grant is steadily growing in strength, and the tidal wave setting in for him appears irresistible in its volume and momentum.

The limited character of the Republican opposition is manifest. In an article sneering at Grant,

a semi-Republican paper takes the position that "those who have the public weal most at heart" resist the demand for his nomination.

Yet in the State of Massachusetts, where the largest showing inimical to Grant might be looked for, in a convention called to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republican party, where its veterans were gathered, and delegates from all parts of the Commonwealth were assembled, no name mentioned to that significant body of citizens was received with such decided satisfaction, or with such unusual or prolonged and *spontaneous* applause, as the name of Grant. It is the evidence of speakers in the late campaign in Massachusetts, that any reference to Grant would waken in all audiences unwonted ardor. If only those among Republicans who object to Grant have the public weal at heart, it is time to begin fasting and prayer over the much-neglected public welfare. The lamentable failure by the reconstructed section, to respond favorably to honest and earnest efforts of President Hayes, to establish good understanding and amicable relations between heretofore contending communities, is the secret of the Grant revival. The present administration began with a revolution in Republican conduct bearing on Southern affairs. It stretched out an olive-branch in each hand. Federal restraint was taken from, and the policy of coercion abandoned in, the disaffected States. Pæans were sung as the Federal soldier retreated, and the hated

sippi must pay to the outlaws who rule their politics. The defence for this shameful silence is, that Southern statesmen will not condemn lawlessness while the North meddles with the matter. The sealed lips and bated breath of the North is the price asked for an indulgence of Southern indignation for killing at sight a man on the other side in politics.

The plea for "home rule," that it is better for all, that the white minority by force should reduce the black majority, is a blow at self-government.

In other days, when any one dissented from the horrors of slavery he was met with the inane query, "But you don't want your daughter to marry a nigger, do you?" Now, if protest is made against murder as a means of acquiring Democratic majorities in Republican localities, the equally imbecile question is put, "Do you want to Africanize the South?"

The inventory of wrongs inflicted upon the weaker race of the South, and upon the people of the United States, by unfair federal representation in the national councils, and the tragic ending of the vaunted era of reconciliation, makes, since the days of "home rule," an appalling record of arrogance and infamy. If we can believe Jefferson Davis, he has never seen "a reconstructed Southern woman." And he looks to such women "to raise up children to vindicate" the Rebellion. "Harper's Weekly," in an article on Southern School-Books, speaks in this way of a certain

Union soldier vindicated the idea that our fathers reared a nation among men; yet, in face of the sacrifice and toil of a hundred years of American history, to infuse into the children of one-third of the Republic the poison of State superiority, is a part of the common daily task of the true Southern teacher. Henry Watterson holds that the South might justly say to the radical leaders, "You alone, among Americans, have caused the cheeks of honest Americans to blush for their country in every part of the world." The unapproachable "cheek" of the statement defies comment. Hill of Georgia asserts that "the mission of the Republican party was to destroy this government."

The statement has been made in Congress, and never successfully contradicted, that four hundred thousand votes have disappeared from the South, and that thirty-two seats in Congress are fraudulently occupied because of the forced destruction of the natural majorities in terrorized districts. The Southern neglect to provide education for the negro population is thus referred to by a late correspondent of "The Boston Herald:" —

"I had occasion, in a recent letter on the school system of Virginia, to remark the indifference of the Southerners in this matter of popular public education, which is such an important feature of Northern civilization. If any thing goes wrong with the appropriations, or a special sum is badly needed, or some public improvement is proposed, the first effort they make to raise the money is by cutting down the school fund."

Nine Southern States have openly repudiated

their debts, or have defaulted in payment, and propose to *adjust* their liabilities. In eleven Southern States the postal service falls behind more than two millions of dollars. Worse than all, local misgovernment, persecutions, intimidations, tissue-ballot stuffings, shotguns at the polls, and other characteristics of the "home" policy of the South, have depopulated the Gulf States of a fearful percentage of their labor, — that labor by which their community is sustained, and by which alone it merits any consideration or regard from mankind. The community that distresses or disheartens its labor shows an incapacity for local, much more for general, government.

The failure to properly furnish education for the black man has been the most powerful stimulus to his migration. He is bound to go where there is the least resistance to his race, and where his child is sure to be taught. The exodus is an invincible argument against the ability and will of the Southern people to rule with justice, or govern with discretion. Yet, according to Senator Bayard, the "South does not need legislation: the South needs sympathy and respect." Respect and sympathy for what? Even those journals that have strenuously advocated the policy that the South should have its own way, now inform us that in Louisiana "the machinery of elections, as created by the party now in power, is in no respect an improvement on the old machinery devised by the carpet-bagger." For years there

has been no Federal interference to inflame the South. No provocation has goaded it to its surprising conduct. The South is solid in its dislike of the Republican party of the nation, solid in its determination to banish the existence of that party within its province, by hereditary inclination. In the degree that it has gained in power, the South has increased its haughtiness and inhumanity. "The man who has one hand in your pocket strikes the other in your face; the man who has both hands in your pocket spits in your face." When the South had only the House of Representatives under its control, it confined its exercise to shotgun practice on election day. When it came into possession of the Senate through a Democratic majority, it boldly proposed to "starve the government" into submission. Montaigne says, "Whatever be the cost of this noble liberty, we must be content to pay it to Heaven."

We are forced to choose, as American citizens, between conflicting ideas, institutions, civilizations. We cannot admit that the grade of our free civilization is a debatable question. We know its advantages as we know that the tides move, or the sun shines. The census avows it. Population attests the fact. Libraries garnered at great cost and care, numerous structures devoted to learning, rapidly increasing wealth, every feature that testifies to a prosperous and intelligent social order, use of books, improved methods of

living, extended circulation of the daily press, and the added number of Christian churches, Christian seminaries, and Christian charities, — all demonstrate the superiority of Northern civilization. Its spread is the hope and glory of the future. To doubt or to disguise its superiority, is to be false to truth and patriotism. The peril before us is the possibility that this better and purer civilization, based as it is on equality of human rights and the supreme duty of universal justice, may go down in the next election before a weak and ignoble civilization, founded upon the boasted claims of a privileged class, and having little identity with the progress that has gained for the Republic the respect of the world, and no friendly participation with the victories that have made the nation immortal in its valor and renown.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BATTLE AND THE BATTLE-GROUND.

THE sanctity of American citizenship, and its protection on our soil with the same vigilance and assertion that shields and sustains it abroad, are not the questions now to be decided.

The imperative duty of national education, that popular action shall accord with an enlightened will, is a matter of the future.

The next battle is to determine whether the constitutional legislation, the personal rights, and the common obligations adjudicated by the war settlements, are to have local governments, or the nation, as their final tribunal. The battle of to-day is over the foundation principle that the vote of the country, in order to insure fairness of casting and accuracy in counting, demands national supervision in elections pertaining to national interests, and cannot safely be left to the varying and negligent oversight of the several States. Whatever doubt may exist with regard to other questions, it cannot be denied that the Constitution is meaningless jargon, unless a voter in Massachusetts shall be certain that his represented power in the electoral college and in all national

bodies is not abridged or overthrown by imperfect balloting in Mississippi or New York. The conflict before us is to pass upon the essence of the national contract, and the validity of the title of national government. While it would be unwise needlessly to offend the worthy portion of our countrymen who rally under the banner of "independence," it is not the time to follow doctrinaires, to forget experience, or fret at the inevitable. The fact is irrefutable, that our political conduct, active or passive, will assist either the party ranging with the "solid North," or the party ranging with the "solid South." They are blind leaders of the blind, whether they stand in pulpits or write at editorial desks, who teach that there is no choice of parties, and that it is of little moment which wins. By an eternal law parties differ, and by the same law they differ for good or ill. The heresy of political indifference, so flippantly paraded by chipper critics, strikes at that inherent and fundamental morality upon which alone the social and political structure can be wisely reared.

We may reconnoitre about or skirmish over revenues, reform, finance, and civil administration; but the main battle is not to be fought on less ground than a test of civilizations, and the best title to the possession of government. We should not now waste our energies on fanciful or frivolous issues. Even important affairs must be postponed. However momentous may be the

controversy over civil-service reform, it cannot be made the "gage of battle." Its advocates may have sufficient power to make a diversion that will jeopardize the cause of good government, and fatally injure the cause of civil-service advancement; but they have not now, nor can they have, the force to push their specialty to the front.

Experience is throwing light upon both the difficulties and the proper modifications of this grave question. As President Hayes, who at the start was furiously applauded by civil-service reformers, has since felt the slings and arrows of outrageous squibbing from his former admirers; it may happen that Grant, whose patriotism is undoubted in public affairs, from being the dreaded Apollyon in the path of civil-service reform, may prove the redeeming agency to place this reform on a sound and practical basis. Rising above the consideration of merely subordinate measures, the people have a clear perception of duty as to the state of the battle and the field where it is to be contested.

The battle-ground is the pivotal State of New York.

There are a certain number of assured votes "solid" on either side. It is the thirty-five electoral votes of that State, required to make the majority of the electoral college, that cause New York to be the scene of interest and struggle. The situation is intricate.

Ordinarily, parties there are so nearly balanced,

that certainty of calculation is an impossibility. There are in the State from thirty to forty thousand converts to the gospel of "split tickets." The signs that help "Old Probabilities" to forecast the weather are luminous beside the political indications of the Empire State.

To wilfully risk the result of the strife, by bad leadership or thoughtless management of the fight, would be a political blunder which is crime against mankind. The rule of action demanded by conscience and intelligence is to secure strength of position and command. The decision of the battle is to foreshadow the policy of the country for years. If the "solid South" breaks, it is the end of warfare over opposing forms of civilization that have existed in some phase since the origin of the nation. If the North breaks, we must enter upon an epoch of confusion and disorder in all internal affairs, uncertainty as to the bonded debt, currency, and the tariff; and such insecurity concerning the franchise as would threaten anarchy. The magnitude of the issue should force us to remember that the contest of a century between State rights and a supreme national government constitutionally endowed, has not changed in its nature, but simply in the method of its campaign. We should not forget that the loss of national control by those now holding it, would place responsibility upon a party having for twenty years no history but that of dishonor, no creed but that of negation and fault-finding. The sane

voter is compelled to the conclusion, that a people who seem unable to properly develop a province should not be empowered to minister to the needs of an empire. The conscientious voter, after careful examination of the field, sees no prospect of perfection in civil service, from accession to political power by a party whose greed for spoils has been heightened by long abstinence from the pleasures of patronage. He sees no hope of peace in the success that ruptures twenty years of national memories. He sees no chance of purity in the triumph of a political organization that vanquishes its opponents in States by preventing them from voting, and obtains its majorities in cities by falsifying returns. He apprehends no progress from a political fraternity with twenty per cent of its members religiously educated to fear public education.[1] He expects no development of patriotism from the domination of a party, of which forty per cent have been in armed resistance to the Republic. The wise voter regards this as an unfit moment for

[1] "In this connection the Archbishop (Williams) reads from the instructions sent to the bishops of the United States through the Roman propaganda in a document dated Nov. 24, 1875, and printed in some papers in this country soon after its reception. From this document, now before us in the original, we gather that the system of instruction peculiar to secular schools appears even in itself to be full of peril. The document proceeds to attribute this peril to the severing of secular from religious instruction, the exclusion of the authority of the church from the schools; the opportunity frequently given to teachers holding sectarian opinions to infuse error into the minds of the young, so plastic and receptive in the tender age of school days, and, in some cases, the co-education of the sexes." — *Boston Daily Advertiser.*

trifling. Whoever treats politics lightly or as a farce should be impressed by the records of humanity that the farces of politics and bad government have preceded all the bloody tragedies that have cursed the world.

The thoughtful American citizen reads from Mirabeau that "Liberty is pledged to liberty; they are indissolubly allied in the great cause; it is an alliance between God and nature, immutable, eternal;" and he seeks in this country the party of liberty as the party of power and promise. He reads from Chatham, "I have an ambition: it is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have inherited from my ancestors;" and a like ambition fills the American heart. He reads from Erskine, "My only wish is to see a happy, powerful, disentangled union, that may save from destruction the constitution;" and he is impelled to ally himself with those whose consecrated purpose has been the preservation in this land of the Constitution and the Union. He reads what Franklin said of the fathers: "As long as the government is mild and just, as long as there is security for civil and religious interests, the Americans will be respectful and submissive subjects;" and he holds that justice to all, civil and religious privileges to all, will make for the sons a contented citizenship. He reads from Bancroft, "that in the cabin of 'The Mayflower' humanity received its rights, and established government on the basis of 'equal laws' enacted by all the people for the

'general good;'" and believing that the "general good" with us can only be upheld, that "equal laws" here can only be established, that the "rights of humanity" in this nation can only be secured, by a constitutional government with adequate force to protect the citizen everywhere in his rights, and guard his ballot everywhere in its purity, he is for that party of the nation that shall wield the power of the nation for the largest personal liberty and the most impartial justice. He looks backward, and sees that the imperial Commonwealth of New York, with four million souls within it, was robbed in 1868 of the will of the people by the will of political miscreants cheating at the polls. Later he has seen a race numbering five million souls virtually disfranchised by terrorizing at the polls; and he prefers to trust the whole people of the country, rather than the people of any part of it, with the vital duty of "counting by the head." Therefore he cherishes the warning and advice contained in the eloquent words of Senator Blaine:—

"Organized wrong will ultimately be met by organized resistance. The sensitive and dangerous point is in the casting and the counting of free ballots. Impartial suffrage is our theory. It must become our practice. Any party of American citizens can bear to be defeated. No party of American citizens will bear to be defrauded. The men who are interested in a dishonest count are units. The men who are interested in an honest count are millions. I wish to speak for the millions of all political parties, and in their name to declare that the Republic must be strong enough, and shall be strong enough, to protect the weakest of its

citizens in all their rights. To this simple and sublime principle let us, in the lofty language of Burke, 'attest the retiring generations, let us attest the advancing generations, between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand!'"

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE NATIONAL NEED, — "A STRONG MAN."

THE sections are arrayed in antagonism. Mere complaint of the fact does not, and will not, evade the weighty peril which confronts us.

The issue of 1880 is, whether the government as administered from March 4, 1881, is to be strengthened by an unquestioned title to power, is to represent our best civilization, is to be conducted by the most efficient executive.

To do this, we need an honest ballot, substantial peace, and a "strong man."

These make up our pressing national wants.

The minimum of risk should be taken to meet the coming exigency. States uncertain in their political action are to decide the immediate national destiny. The strongest leader is needed to attract the doubtful vote. The problem of candidacy is, to hold the largest number of one party, and to impress favorably the largest number of the other party. A man of known strength of character, patriotic record, firmness in administrative capacity, who will be certain to draw more from the Democrats than he is likely to lose from Republicans, is the standard-bearer that loyalty should, and

in all probability will, select. Grant is the candidate combining the most strength with the least weakness. There are men of influence and education who do not want Grant again. He is not desired by those who see danger in a "third term," and apprehend evil from the personal element in politics. The class that is striving to crystallize a sentiment of disrespect to parties as such, aims to develop a body of voters, who, by the process of shifting sides, may so trim the ship of state, as to keep it safe. The danger from these political Quixotes is, that in some perilous moment, from sheer prejudice, they may so shift as to wreck the craft. There would be flaws found in any nominee. Though one possessed the purity of Galahad and the bravery of Launcelot, he would have quibblers and defamers. A man so weak or insignificant as to be below criticism would be too weak for consideration as a candidate. Strength of personal character, strength of popular support, and the fewest objections, make the strong leader.

Weak points in the candidature of Grant are so few that their repetition is as tiresome as their substance is trivial. It is said that Grant was President during the Republican overturn of 1874. It is true. Business re-action, and its consequent depression, swept aside, as like disasters have swept and will sweep aside, the party in power.

As well might Grant be charged with causing the earthquake at Lisbon, or with effecting the periodical visitation of the Asiatic cholera, as

with being the author of that railroad collapse which led to the panic of 1873, and the commercial and political prostration that followed it.

It is said that Grant appointed to the cabinet, and other important positions, men who proved corrupt. It is so. Washington trusted Arnold; and the treachery at West Point could as consistently be laid to the first President as the betrayal later, by civil traitors, should be attributed to the eighteenth President. Men who see nothing in the career of Grant but the imperfections of his official term, and the misconduct of those in whom he unwisely placed confidence, have for him an incurable aversion. Equally beyond the reach of argument are those who seek perfection in any presidential choice. The flawless candidate is a creature of Utopia. It is an impossibility to have any man selected who would satisfy the test of those who fancy the best way to show an interest in higher politics is to "vote in air," — a process which amounts to hurting the party which, on the whole, is best, and helping the party conceded by reformers to be the worst. No one has any chance to be put in nomination by the Republican convention who was not a member of that "senatorial group," which, after Grant, was the recipient of the bitterest comment by the free-lance element in politics. It should be kept constantly in sight, that, outside of the objection to three terms, no condemnation or reproach is urged against Grant

but would exist and would be mooted against any Republican leader that we *can* have. If fear of the "Independent" forces the overthrow of Grant's nomination, the successful man, by his party alliance and party devotion, will furnish opportunity to those who have an itching for scratching, to exercise that propensity. If we are to have a candidate whose party fealty is to be used against him, to take the one strongest in all other qualifications is to be governed by plain common sense. It is not with any faith in the power of a mere nomination, or any dependence upon the hollow pretence of "regularity," that Grant is advocated. It is because, in an emergency of no common order, all things considered, he is the "strongest" man. If those who, according to Whitelaw Reid, vindicate "independence only by sitting on the fence, and throwing stones, with impartial vigor, alike on friend and foe," can defeat Grant, they can defeat others. Like the dog in "Tynley Hall," "who never barked at any one but the members of his own family," their opposition, under any circumstances, is expected. Neither should we be misled by those who are excessively anxious that Grant's reputation, now so enviable, might be impaired if he were once more President. This is the plea of men who heretofore have been principally engaged in marring that reputation, and assailing the honor of Grant. From idle chatter about the resuscitation of "rings," the restoration of "bosses," and the re-appointment of obnoxious

men, the believers in Grant turn to his own emphatic declaration, that "past experience may guide in avoiding mistakes inevitable with novices in all professions and in all occupations."

"The Nation," in denying that any danger would come to the country by the preponderance of Southern "brigadier-generals" in Congress, says, "When you see a man walking into a big hole, into which he once fell and broke his thigh, you must not conclude his design is to fall in again and break the other hip." If the logic is sound in the case of a Confederate "brigadier," that experience teaches caution, it is as good for a Union general.

The insinuation that to go back to Grant is a confession that no other Republican is of sufficient eminence to fill the Presidency, is answered by the statement, that, while many Republicans would make good Presidents, no citizen is likely to make a better President than Grant, and no one can so easily or surely obtain the required number of votes. We have hosts of good men, but no *such* man as Grant. The question will not be, whether the American people will drift into a "monarchy," or become an "empire," or succumb to a dictator; but it will be whether they prefer Grant as President again, or the Democratic candidate who runs, or makes an effort to run, against him. Among the blessings to be anticipated by another term of Grant, putting a quietus on the stock alarm, that the life of the Republic will expire

on account of a third choice of the people for the same man as chief magistrate, is one that will be both lasting and incalculable. If the longevity of popular governments hangs on such slight events as a third term or no, the sooner the delusion of free institutions is exposed and exploded, the better for the world.

They who are made unhappy by the phantom of an "Atlantic Cæsar" tell us, in mournful numbers, that the "man on horseback," in the United States, "will set up, by intrigue and violence, a rule which will have absolutely nothing in common with the government organized by our fathers, which will be vulgar through and through, steeped in corruption, political and social." That remarkable political "melancholia," which visits its victims with a passion for nursing the decrepit "government of the fathers," is generally attended with a gloomy nightmare, in which the mounted Cæsar tramples unchecked over the ruins of the Republic.

Let us observe some of the traits of the man at times called the American Cæsar. He has been for three years under the gaze of the people of the Old and New Worlds. We find him at the grammar-school at Stratford, where Shakspeare was taught, asking "a holiday for the boys;" and this Cæsar of ours is greeted with "three times three cheers." He says to the working-men of Birmingham, "Labor disgraces no man." Before an arbitration-union, this imperialist, speaking of

universal peace, says, "I would gladly see the millions of men, who are now supported by the industry of nations, return to industrial pursuits." Listen to this Cæsar as he tells Englishmen, that, in America, we do "not quite believe that it is possible for any one man there to assume any more right and authority than the Constitution of the land gives to him." See him in Paris, visiting the American newspaper-office; slipping "in of a morning to seek a quiet corner, and brood over the papers for an hour or two." See him providing "an assortment of coins" to scatter to the Italian beggars that haunt his carriage. See him refusing, at Pompeii, to visit "scenes of shame and vice," which, according to the guide, was the "special object of interest to tourists."

Hear one who journeyed with him in the most intimate manner assert that he had "no resentments," and that "I have heard him refer to most of the men, civil and military, who have flourished with him, and there is only one about whom I have seen him show feeling." In Egypt Grant meets an ex-Confederate general, an early friend, but "his enemy during the war," and extends to him a cordial recognition.

Lounging on the deck of the Nile-boat, lazily sailing towards the scenes of a civilization that has become a dream, the narrator of the trip says "that the red-letter days of our Nile journey were when Gen. Grant told us how he met Lee at Appomattox, or how Sherman fought at Shiloh." An

Egyptian official presents Grant with an Arabian steed; and it is suggested that perhaps it would be safer to "pace the horse up and down, with an attendant to hold him." The answer is, "If I can mount a horse, I can ride him; and all the attendants can do is to keep away." This is the sole Cæsarean view of the "man on horseback" given us in his foreign tour. At Memphis, "some one proposes, laughingly, that the general, who is on his way to Turkey, should offer the Sultan his services." — "No," he said, "I have done all the fighting I care to do; and the only country I shall fight for is the United States." How like a Cæsar! At Madrid, he will not see a bull-fight. At Berlin, we are told that a "grand review is on the tapis, which Gen. Grant is to witness. I don't think he can possibly escape this time, as much as he is disinclined to witness military pageants."

In an interview with Bismarck, our Cæsar remarks, "The truth is, I am more of a farmer than a soldier. I take little or no interest in military affairs; and although I entered the army thirty-five years ago, and have been in two wars, — in Mexico as a young lieutenant, and later, — I never went into the army without regret, and never retired without pleasure." At a dinner given on the Fourth of July at Hamburg, Grant's health was proposed as the "man who had saved the country." In response, among other things, he said, "What saved the Union was the coming forward of the young men of the nation. They came

from their homes and fields, as they did in the time of the Revolution, giving every thing to the country. To their devotion we owe the salvation of the Union. The humblest soldier who carried a musket is entitled to as much credit for the results of the war as those who were in command. So long as our young men are animated by this spirit, there will be no fear for the Union."

And when the tide of welcome had rolled in from the Pacific slope to the borders of the Great Lakes, and a vast multitude hung breathlessly upon the words that came from their fellow-citizen, he said,—

"To one allusion to my reception abroad I will say, that, in every case, I felt that it was a tribute to our own country. I will add further, that our country stands differently abroad, in the estimation of European and Eastern nations, from what it did a quarter of a century ago. At that time it was believed we had no nation; it was merely a confederation of states, tied together by a rope of sand, and would give way upon the slightest friction. They have found it was a grand mistake. They know that we have now a nation; that we are a nation of strong and intelligent and brave people, capable of judging and knowing our rights, and determined on all occasions to maintain them against either a domestic or foreign foe; and that is the reception you, as a nation, have received through me while I was abroad."

These instances of a grand, simple, patriotic nature could be multiplied. They would only tend to strengthen the feeling shared by all our countrymen, except those who are dulled by preju-

dice or imbittered by bigotry, that the ambition which attaches to the name of Cæsar would apply with equal fitness to Washington or Lincoln as to Grant.

The group of events included in these pages were critical occasions, turning-points, in American history. They were so interwoven with the life of the Republic, that the failure of any one of them would have brought utmost disaster, if not defeat, to the national cause. In each emergency, when the tide of misfortune had touched the point of despair, when the blow that cleft in twain the domain of the foe settled forever neutrality and emancipation, when the scattered armies of the enemy were driven in upon their centre, when the dream of a Confederacy dissolved "like the baseless fabric of a vision," when the heroic chief of the "lost cause" calmly met his fate, — in all these supreme moments, one commanding figure is the centre of each decisive scene. And when the roar of war was hushed, to be supplanted by the roar of contending factions, when the halls of the nation became the field of combat, as loyalty battled defection in its own ranks, the same clear head, calm mind, and steady hand guided us in the "pinch" of reconstruction. The standard of bad faith and repudiation is raised at an hour when all the burdens of war and none of the advantages of peace are felt; and he is chosen to lead against the hosts of dishonor those to whom the fame of the Republic was no less dear than its life.

Once more: while he occupies for the second time the Presidential office, an alarming conspiracy against constitutional money and honest finance is begun.

The fight for morals and conscience and good money rages at last about him. His signature as President makes into law the policy which saved the character and honor of the nation as its rights and liberties had already been preserved.

As we, the countrymen of Grant, have seen, with equal emotions of wonder and admiration, the great divisions of the earth — Europe with her peoples, statesmen, warriors, and rulers, India with her palaces of marble and massive temples adorned with chaste minarets and lofty domes, China with antiquities that reveal the misty legends of an unknown age, Egypt with her mysterious tombs and temples, Japan, old in her civilization, young in her hope of adopting methods of modern life — all bestowing for the first time upon an American, honors reserved by the custom of countries for emperors, kings, and princes; and as beyond all this mere variety of ceremony we have seen extended to our countryman a personal attention and regard coming from the very heart of many races, we have been amazed and gratified at a recognition such as the civilities of nations have rarely lavished upon a guest.

Reaching the western shores of his native land, his countrymen have shown an estimation for his renown, and an admiration for his character, no

less general or intense than that which attended him in strange lands.

To some of his fellow-citizens, more than any glory won at arms, higher than any distinction in civil affairs, dearer than ovations to his greatness, purer and fairer than any laurel he wears, ranks that tribute he has made to morality, that contribution to the dignity of sober self-command. The hearts of Christian men and women go out to him for his adherence to the truth that social delight and customs and personal gratification are nothing compared with the grandeur of an example which helps to lift the race to a standard of self-denial and sobriety.

Tried as no other American has been, tested in the fire and heat by which the calibre of true men is determined, in a new danger that threatens the fruits of a war which reeked with blood, and the gains of a peace terrible in its lessons, and the verification of the title of a government we are either to administer or obey, — when all that we hold priceless hangs trembling in the balance, human nature would require re-creation, if it did not, in the emergency before us, look to the citizen who had so often been the providential agent of our deliverance from peril in the past.

The underlying motive or instinct of that mighty impulse that turns to him again is the conviction, that, surer than by any other method, another term of administration by Grant will disperse the solidity of sections, bury the feuds

and animosities of years, and bring about, on the basis of equality for all, a final settlement of the costly and unhappy division of the people.

In the presence of a political contest freighted with issues bearing on the welfare of millions, and the concern of a nation, it seems puerile to question and dishonorable to deny the imperative demand for a "strong man." Of Grant it can be said, as Guizot said of Washington, "He had in a superior degree the two qualities which in active life render men capable of great things: he could believe firmly in his own ideas, and act resolutely upon them, without fearing to take the responsibility." Strong in the possession of attributes that made Washington great, Grant of living leaders is the strongest and safest, — strong in the memories of a grateful people for his skill and prowess as a soldier; strong in that historical position which places him in the front of the foremost men of his day; strong in that eminent virtue of decision and judgment which enables him to grapple successfully with the most complicated difficulties; strong in that patriotic instinct which makes right action the sole means to the "general good;" strong in the possibilities of peace, which he more than any man will be able to secure for the whole land; and, above all, strong in those moral convictions, buttressed on religious belief, that teach that the love, the liberty, the justice, revealed to man as a divine standard of conduct, when incorporated into

American laws, and reflected in daily American life, will attain for us that "pursuit of happiness" which was one of the fundamental promises of the American Constitution, and will yet be the possession of an approaching American civilization. May we not, under the guidance of this "strong man," realize for the Republic the glowing vision imagined by Milton? —

> "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks.
>
> "Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eye at the full midday beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means."

The meaning of the American Republic is to live up to its own ideal. Her citizens, whether they number fifty or thrice fifty millions, whether they be black men from Africa, yellow men from China, red men of the forests, or men of whiter hue, must enjoy entire recognition of those rights, and that exact and equal balance of political will, given them by the laws of God, and re-enacted for their benefit by the laws of the land. The American nation has no meaning, unless, in the spirit with which our ancestors sang, "A church without a bishop, a state without a king," we cause all class-distinction and every remnant of caste to recede and vanish before our advancing civili-

zation. It is no blind worship of brute force as such, no unmanly idolatry for a military conqueror, which inspires the appeal of freemen for a "strong man." Time has taught them that no event, great in its consequences for good in the world, has ever come unattended with a man of nerve and strength to direct it, — that nerve and strength described by Tennyson, when he mourns Wellington, as a man

> "Who never sold the truth to serve the hour;
> Nor paltered with eternal God for power;
> Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
> Through either babbling world of high or low;
> Whose life was work, whose language rife
> With rugged maxims hewn from life;
> Who never spoke against a foe."

Such a man, if ever, is now a national necessity. As the nation moves forward to unfold the genius of government born on the deck of "The Mayflower;" as she seeks to realize for man the rights promulgated in the charter of independence; as she strives to hold to the sublime purpose for which the blood of her children was consecrated; and as she struggles for that equality sacredly ordained in the amended Constitution, she asks, "Who shall lead on?" The answer is upon the lips of millions of patriotic citizens: "Let us once more be led by Grant."

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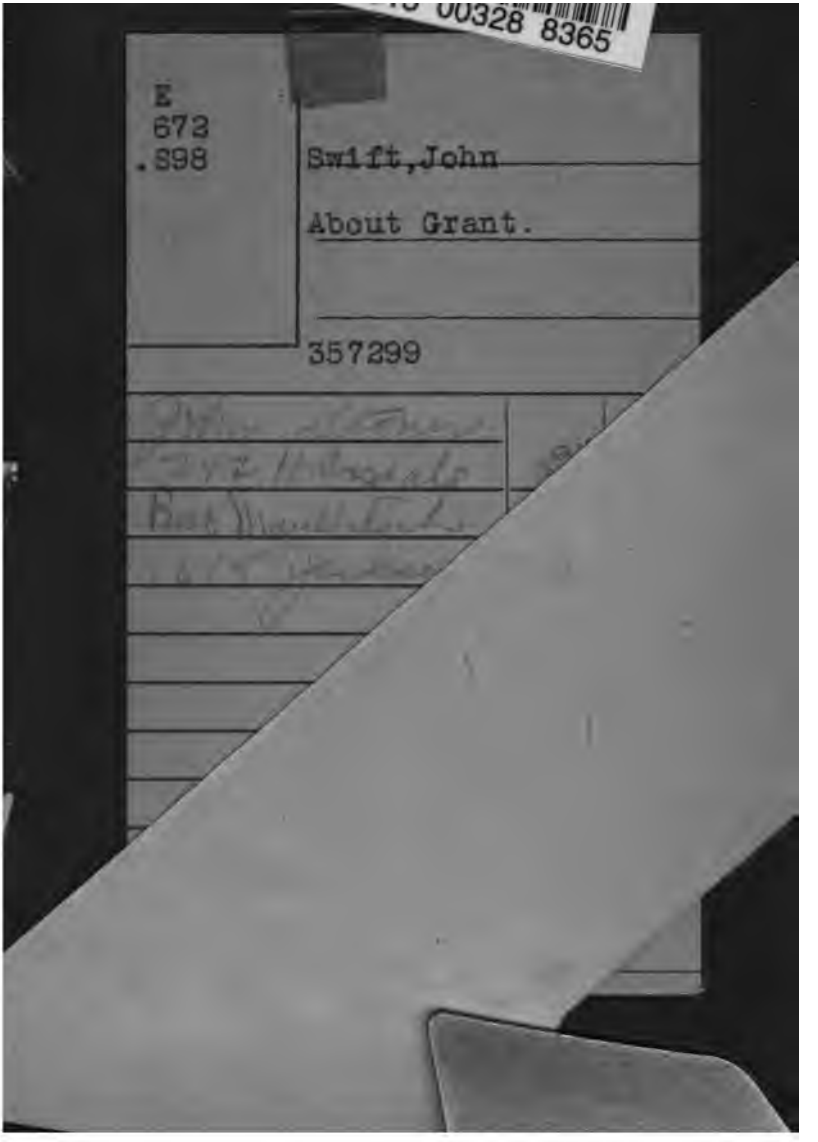
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